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VISIT

TO

GREECE,

IN

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VISIT TO GREECE,

IN

1823 AND 1824.

3-c.27

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

A VARIETY of circumstances are mentioned as having contributed to occasion the Greek Revolution. It has been said, that there are limits to human sufferance; that our powers of submission, like our powers of action, are measured and restrained; that the miseries of Greece had attained the boundaries allotted to them, and burst out into insurrection from very impossibility of further endurance. Whatever be the merits of this theory, it is rendered inapplicable to the present case, by the mere fact, that the Greeks, during the last twenty years, at least, have lived under a mitigated despotism.

A more philosophical reason for this event is derived from the progressive improvement which

has recently elevated and invigorated the Greek nation, as contrasted with the stationary imperfectibility of their adversary. It is argued with truth, and acknowledged with exultation, that our impatient and elastic nature cannot for ever be held by the grasp of mere irrational force; that what is active, and inquisitive, and enterprising, cannot be for ever subject to that which is sluggish and motionless; that what has breath, and life, and energy, must ultimately cast off the senseless weight which oppresses it. It was therefore *necessary* that the Christian and advancing people should, sooner or later, assert their moral superiority over the dull and immutable Mussulman. After a tedious period of oppression, the hour of emancipation at last arrived; the laws of nature had their course, and the event which had been long maturing in the womb of time was produced in the order of things, naturally and necessarily.

Unwilling and unable to advance any argument against a principle so flattering to our human vanity, I may still question the fact, whether the Greeks had yet attained that intellectual pre-eminence which reduced their emancipation to a

mere process of nature. It is true, that since the beginning of the present century, they had risen rapidly in commercial importance; and the effect of commerce is generally to enlighten and liberalize the minds of those engaged in it. Something had also been effected towards the education of the higher classes; the school of Scio had not been without advantage, and that of Aivali made promises of still greater and more general success. Scio and Aivali! two names whose misfortunes I may hereafter undertake to detail, but which I cannot mention for the first time without some faint, but most sincere expression of sorrow and commiseration.

It is well known that several young Greeks pursued the study of medicine in the universities of Italy, and that some others, though fewer in number, received their education n Germany, France, and even England; but a still larger proportion seem to have sought instruction in the southern provinces of Russia, whither perhaps they were first invited by commercial speculations. But after all, it was to the higher classes that education was confined, almost exclusively; and I

much doubt whether any important advances had yet been made towards the instruction of the people. And how, in fact, could it possibly have been otherwise? Can a nation be educated in twenty years? a nation crushed and lacerated by long oppression, and still bending and groaning under its burden? Yet another century, and that people, the most naturally enlightened under heaven, would have snatched such glimpses of knowledge through the obscurity of despotism, as would have rendered their tardier efforts at once unanimous and irresistible; from the streets of the Fanal to the valleys of Cyprus, one triumphant acclamation would have attended the march of independence. *That* was the moment intended by nature for the Greek Revolution; then, indeed, would its birth have taken place without convulsion; its growth would have been erect and regular, and its hands unstained by crimes.

But since it has pleased Providence, that thus violently and untimely produced, it should have arrived at a certain degree of prosperity, and attained, as it would seem, a permanent existence, not hopeless of increase and amelioration, it

becomes us to rejoice at the circumstances which have forced upon our age so unexpected and so magnificent an event; and, while we more ardently admire whatever it contains truly admirable, to attribute to its prematurity the defects which distort and disfigure it.

Three principal causes are mentioned as having contributed to precipitate the birth of the Revolution;—the rebellion of Ali Pasha, and the activity of his emissaries,—the influence and exertions of Russian agents, and the connexion of certain leaders of the insurrection with the Carbonari. Let us examine these causes, as far as our present information will admit, with candour and impartiality.

I have been frequently assured by Greeks, who are not, however, it must be confessed, the most accurate relaters of their own affairs, that the moment of insurrection was fixed by an accident, which discovered to the Turkish Government the existence of a very extensive conspiracy: this is credible and natural. Perhaps few important designs, however prepared and premeditated, were ever carried into execution precisely in the manner

and at the time intended. The minute details, the crisis, the impulse, the *instant*, are generally decided by what is called accident.

Thus, then, was that event doubly premature: first, in the formation of a conspiracy to awake into liberty a people not yet prepared to endure its brightness; and, secondly, in the occurrence which forced that conspiracy into action some months, perhaps, before it had completed the arrangements* necessary for its success.

The existence of such a conspiracy, which no one now affects to deny, is sufficiently proved by the single fact that the principal merchants of the Islands had, as early as the October preceding, recalled the greater part of their vessels, which were detained in port, and in condition for service the moment it should be required of them.

That parts, too, of the Morea, were strongly agitated and convulsed previous to the appearance

* These are said to have had in view the contemporaneous seizure of all the Turkish fortresses in the Morea; nor is the existence of a grand plot at Constantinople, for the burning of the city and the murder of the Sultan, at all generally doubted.

of Ypsilanti in Moldavia, is attested by letters written at the moment and from the spot, which I have seen and copied.

It is certain, that the rebellion of Ali Pasha determined more than any known event the period of insurrection; as if that monstrous spawn of despotism had been reserved to make, before he perished, one involuntary atonement to liberty for the outrages which he had employed his long life in inflicting upon her. Let us examine the facts for one instant: in the summer of 1820, Ali declared his independence, and in September, the Siege of Yanina commenced; in October, the landers called in their merchant-ships; in November, the Suliotes returned to their country from the Ionian Islands, and raised the standard of rebellion, in alliance with their former persecutor, against the Sublime Porte; in February, 1821, Hourshid Pasha arrived before Yanina, from the Morea, leaving that country almost destitute of Turkish soldiers. Shortly after his arrival, various Greeks, who were in the service of Ali Pasha, left Yanina, and returned to their

homes, where they hoped very speedily to be more actively employed; and, in the first days of the April following, the insurrection did, in fact, break out at Patras.

Let us no longer, then, believe those who would persuade us, that the Revolution originated in a mere tumultuary, unpremeditated movement, excited by the news of the chivalrous enterprise of Ypsilanti.

Let us now proceed to the formidable question of Russian agency; and I must here fairly express my belief, that had not a very strong expectation universally prevailed among the Greeks that their attempt, when once hazarded, would receive the protection of Russia, not one patriot would have been found so daring as to have recommended it.

The question then is, whether this expectation was founded solely on the ancient policy of the Russian cabinet, or also on the recent conduct of her agents in the Levant.

I have reason to believe that letters, bearing the signature of Russian officers, addressed to insurgents, and strongly encouraging insurrection, were

intercepted by the Turkish Government, and by it * communicated to the mediating powers. We must suspend, then, our final judgment, till such time as it shall be deemed proper to publish these letters, that we may learn the importance of the agents thus implicated, their number, the exact tenour of their language, and above all, the moment of their agency; for it may at last appear that the letters were written *after* the breaking out of the insurrection, and in that case we shall have less difficulty in tracing them to their real source.

Any attempt to revolutionize Greece must have been made by the Russian ministry, either with the knowledge of the emperor, or without it.

The former supposition is absolutely incredible. Among the many virtues which the Emperor Alexander is said to have displayed under the most difficult circumstances, every one must remark that of consistency. The insurrection which he thought proper to condemn in its origin, he has never in its progress for an instant supported; its principle appears to him as detestable now as

* This took place at a Conference in August, 1822.

heretofore, and the opinions which he proclaimed at Laybach were re-echoed from the halls of Verona.

But opinions are little; we must look to the actions of monarchs; and from this examination it appears that, during the course of the most difficult negotiation ever conducted, many pretexts, and some reasons, for war were afforded him by the blind pertinacity, may I not say pugnacity, of the Turkish Government; that public opinion, such as can be expressed in Russia, invited him to take advantage of them; that a part at least of his cabinet was active and incessant in its endeavours to seduce him into the same feelings; that religion and ambition were eloquent in the same cause; and even honour appeared sometimes engaged to provoke him to hostility.

The emperor was inflexible—honour, or ambition, or religion, the intrigues of his ministers, or the voice of his people, the very insolence of his adversary, could not compel him to the support of a cause whose principle he continued to disapprove.

The sincerity of his disapprobation being thus

clearly attested, it is quite* unnatural to suppose that the emperor himself was privy to any secret agency of which the object was to promote revolution.

The cabinet, then, or a part of the cabinet, must have acted *without* the knowledge of the emperor; and our suspicions are immediately directed to the Greek who occupied the first place there.

Count Capo d'Istrias loves his country; and, in discharging his duties to the land which has adopted him, he has never forgotten the interests of that dearer land to which he has the earlier and more lasting obligation of birth. But he loves his country like a statesman who has studied its wants and its difficulties; not like an enthusiast, who has looked only at its miseries: he loves it too well and too rationally not to have received with deep sorrow the first information of an attempt pronounced hopeless by its very best friends, and most hopeless by those who were best acquainted

* Can we believe that the Emperor secretly excited an insurrection which he was predetermined never to protect openly, and which had in its origin such little hope of success without his protection? I do not think him so weak or so inhuman.

with the opinions of the Emperor of Russia. On this occasion, Capo d'Istrias is believed to have expressed himself nearly as follows:—"I know that posterity will consider me as the author of this insurrection; but I protest that it is contrary to all my best wishes: it is ill-timed and untimely, and destructive of all the hopes I have so long indulged of the gradual regeneration of my country."

The best comment on this declaration is furnished by a singularly-interesting document, which I shall presently publish; in the mean time, suffice it here to express my strong assurance of the sincerity with which those words were uttered; and my present conviction, that anxious as he had ever been for the improvement and ultimate emancipation of Greece, and industriously as he may since have exerted himself to save her, by the hand of Russia, from the abyss into which he imagined she was falling, Count Capo d'Istrias was not intentionally instrumental in exciting the present insurrection.

If, then, neither the Emperor nor his Ministers were favourable to such designs, to what source are

we to refer that secret agency which is proved, it seems, to have existed? I am at a loss to answer that question; but if we should ever be more exactly informed as to the nature and period of that agency, it will appear, I think, either not to have been exerted previous to the insurrection, or not to have involved persons of much consideration; or perhaps to have been only the spontaneous effervescence of ill-informed * patriots, guided in their unenlightened speculations by the ancient policy of the Russian Cabinet†.

I have learnt, without surprise, though not without sorrow, that a correspondence of some extent subsisted between the Greek patriots and the Carbonari; and that proofs of it were presented at the Congress of Verona. It was natural that those who could ask nothing of the Governments of Europe should seek aid even from

* Many Russian agents in the Levant were native Greeks.

† I may add, in confirmation of this opinion, that I have been unable to procure in Greece any distinct or consistent evidence of the operation of such agency either in producing or supporting the Revolution. I am inclined to think that the *Apostles*, or Emissaries of the Hetaria, as generally coming from Russia, have been sometimes mistaken for Agents of the Russian Government. Any Russian so employed was, I feel convinced, the tool of Ypsilanti, not of Capo d'Istrias.

the enemies of those governments. In their difficult ascent to independence, it mattered not, they thought, how decayed the branch, or how shattered the fragment which supported them.

But not perceiving in what utter imbecility they were confiding a part of their hopes, neither could they foresee the misrepresentation to which that connexion would probably give rise; they could not foresee that their cause, in principle entirely distinguished from the other, would be declared contaminated by the contact; and that its enemies would derive from that circumstance plausible reasons for the continuance of their persecution. Two attempts, made in two adjoining countries, having both for their object to alter something established, and both pleading alike the protection of liberty, were simultaneous. This was sufficient to establish a resemblance; artful men pronounced it to be identity; unthinking men re-echoed the declaration, and discharged upon both causes, indiscriminately, that angry and contemptuous censure, which certainly was not merited by the cause of Greece.

By this brief inquiry into the origin of the

Revolution, we have ascertained, I think, that notwithstanding much oppression, the Greeks had made great commercial advances, and that the education and information of the higher classes raised them in general to some moral superiority over the nation which ruled them; though the body of the people had not partaken equally of those advantages. All were alike thirsting for independence—the rebellion of Ali Pasha broke out, and employed the attention of the Turkish armies, while the forces of that Government, which they ever dreaded next to the Turkish, were called away to compose the civil dissensions of the Italians; the moment then seemed favourable for an effort, to which Russia, they felt assured, would not deny her usual protection.

These circumstances would be considered sufficient to account for an insurrection, whose first exertions had so little appearance of organization. There was, however, another and more powerful machine, which had for some time been in motion for the same purpose—I mean the Hetaria; and as I am fortunately enabled to give some authentic

and rather singular information respecting its constitution, I will make it the subject of the next Section.

SECTION II.

It is unjust to include all secret societies in a single sentence of condemnation—they are distinctly of two kinds; that formed for the mutual assistance and preservation of its members, or with any other object purely defensive; and that which has in view any aggression on any person, or thing, or system of things actually existing; whose object, in short, contains any thing offensive. The former may save a falling country, or perpetuate a persecuted religion, and from its very nature can rarely be productive of any serious or permanent evil—even the latter may sometimes be directed by virtuous and noble purposes; but as its designs may also be, and usually are, violent and destructive, we may not designate even its more innocent form by any milder name than conspiracy.

Such then was the Hetaria—a secret society, formed for the removal of much existing misery—a conspiracy against lust and avarice, against ignorance and fanaticism, and domestic oppression and foreign despotism! Let conspiracies, like all other human actions, be impartially judged at the tribunal of history, and some few perhaps will be found to merit exception from the verdict of general condemnation which must ever be passed upon their principle.

Of all possible conspiracies, the least guilty was that which we are now proceeding to examine, both in consideration of its object, and, as will presently appear, of its internal constitution. And yet, I confess, that I feel some delicacy in exposing what was intended, probably, for eternal secrecy; nor if any portion of that society still continued to exist, should any thing have induced me to communicate the little which I have accidentally discovered of its mysteries.—But the Hetaria is now no more; its purposes are fulfilled, and the friends of Grecian independence are condemned to darkness no longer. Patriotism is no longer

a midnight * virtue, to be silently adored with vows and tears—the sun at length has risen upon its worshippers, and they may display their zeal as publicly as they will, in council or in action. The first cannon which was heard in Moldavia was the signal for the extinction of the Hetaria.

I cannot trace the origin of this society to an earlier period than the year 1814: in its birth contemporary with the Philo-music Society, in its nature and designs it was entirely distinguished: the one was publicly established for purposes purely literary, and presently received the patronage of ministers and even emperors. The ends of the other were exclusively political; and it was only protected in its commencement and its progress by the strictest secrecy.

Its members were divided into three gradations † or classes. First, the Blámides, or chiefs; secondly, the Systeméni, or coadjutors; thirdly, the Hiereis, or priests. The whole united was called the Hetaria Philiké, or Friendly Society or

* See a few pages later.

† Called Βάθμα. The word Βλάμιδες is, I am told, Albanian.

Fellowship. The three classes had distinct signs and private means of communication by the position of the hand or fingers, as in free-masonry; and each had a separate cipher, though it would appear that they possessed also a common method intelligible to all.

The qualifications necessary for admission were, that the candidate be "a true Hellene*, a steady and zealous lover of his country, and *a good and virtuous man*; that he be a member of no other secret society; and that his desire to be †*catechised* into the Hetaria arise not from curiosity, or any other motive than pure patriotism;" and it is required of him, amongst other things, "that he consider‡ all other bonds and duties which he has in the world as next to nothing, when confronted with the bond of the Hetaria."

The facility afforded for the admission of new members was very great; as any one member,

* In one place the words are merely "Γραικὸς, εὐσεβὴς θεσμοὺς ἐφαπτὴς τῆς Παλιρίδος, καὶ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος." In another, "ἀληθινος Ἕλλην . . . ἀνάρεπτος καὶ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος."

† "Ὅτι ἐπιθυμεῖ νὰ καταηχηθῇ εἰς τὴν Ἑταιρίαν."

‡ "Ὅτι ὅλοι οἱ ἄλλοι δεσμοὶ καὶ ἀπασχολήσεις ἡ ἔχει εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἶναι σχεδὸν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ δεσμοῦ τῆς Ἑταιρίας."

with the privity of a second, had the power of admitting every person whom he believed to possess the requisite qualifications.

Respecting the form of admission, my information is not perfectly distinct; I understand it to have been as follows:—The candidate was first conducted by the "priest," who was about to admit him, into the presence of another member, before whom he expressed his wish to enter the society, and read the oath which he would be required to take for that purpose. One or two days were then allowed him to meditate on the substance of that oath, and if he still retained his previous desire, a * secure place was selected, to which he retired with the priest at night and in silence. A table was prepared, on which was placed a wax taper and an image. After some unimportant formalities, the novice was directed to kneel on his right knee, close to the table, and to make three times the sign of the cross; after this, he was allowed to touch the image, and to place upon it his right hand, open. While

* "Μίαν ἢ δύο ἡμέρας τὴν νύκτα σιωπῆς. παιγνιωδίας εἰς ἀσφαλὴ μέρος," &c.

he was in this position, the taper was placed in his left hand, and he pronounced these words: "This taper is the only witness which my afflicted country accepts, when her children swear the oath of their emancipation"—words so simply and solemnly impressive, that he must, indeed, have been an indifferent patriot who could pronounce them without tears. He then repeated the sign of the Cross, once only, and proceeded to receive the principal oath. When this had been duly administered, the Priest placed his right hand on the left shoulder of the novice, and replacing with his left hand the image which the latter had raised from the table during the fervour of initiation, uttered, with a distinct voice, the following words: "† Before the face of the invisible and omnipresent true God, who in his essence is just, the avenger of transgression, the chastiser of evil, by the laws of the Hetaria Philike, and by the authority with which its powerful priests has intrusted

* Called ὁ μέγας Ὅρκος.

† Ἐνώπιον τοῦ Ἀοράτου καὶ παντιαχοῦ παρόντος ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν δικαίου τοῦ ἐκδικοῦντος τὴν παράβασιν καὶ παιδεύοντος τὴν κακίαν, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῆς φιλικῆς Ἑταιρίας, καὶ μὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἣν ὁποίαν ἔδοσαν οἱ μεγάλοι Ἱερεῖς," 4to. &c. &c.

me, I receive you, as I was myself received, into the bosom of the Hetaria."

To which the other replied, "I swear, as a man of honour, as a man anxious for the happiness of my fellow-countrymen, * on which depends even my own daily existence, by all that I hold sacred and dear in the world, that I will unalterably observe the promises which I have sworn to the Hetaria, and that I will be faithful to the end of my life to the whole body generally, and to its members individually, in whatever circumstance of human condition I may find myself; and that I will be strictly directed by the fundamental † principles on which the society reposes."

The initiated was then admitted to all the privileges and secrets of the "Priesthood," whence he might be promoted, in process of time, to the higher classes of the society; but in what time, or by what means or merits, I am not informed. Punishments, too, were established for offending members; consisting probably of pecuniary for-

* Ἀπὸ τὴν ὁσίαν ἐξάρτησιν καὶ ἡ ἰδική μου ἐφημερία.

† Τὰς Δημιλωδεις Ἀρχὰς; which are described to be ὁ μιγας πατριώτισμος, ἡ Ἀρετὴ, and a great variety of other virtues.

feits, varying according to the extent of the offence: it is difficult to conceive the execution of any other species of punishment amongst the members of a society thus composed. The new member was called Adelphopœetos, or Adopted Brother.

The candidate was also subjected to two distinct sets of interrogations, and was obliged to confirm his answers to them by oath. Some of the questions are very singular, and the motive which dictated others is not quite obvious. I am enabled to give the greater number of them literally.

The longer and more important of these two "Catechisms," which was called "the First Oath," contained ten questions:

1. How do you live, and what means have you of procuring your livelihood?

2*. What relatives have you? in what profession are you, and in what circumstances?

3. Had you ever any differences with your kinsmen, or friends, or any one else?

4. (Something unimportant, founded on qu. 3.)

5. Are you married, or have you any intention of marrying?

* Τί συγγενὶς ἴχις; τί ἀπάγγιλμα καὶ ποίας καταστάσις.

6 *. Are you in love; or had you ever an attachment, which has passed away with time?

7. Has any great misfortune or change of circumstance overtaken you?

8. Are you contented with your situation in life, or should you prefer some other to it?

9. Have you any faithful friend, and who is he?

10. How do you intend to live for the future?

The second catechism was called the "Confession," (ἐξομολόγησις), and contains only six questions;

1. Are you persecuted†, either yourself or any among your relatives or friends, by the government of our country, or by any one else; and on what account?

2. Have you any friends or relatives in prison, and why?

3. Have any among your relatives or friends been put to death by the Government, and why?

4. ‡ Has any important event befallen you in the course of your life?

* Ἔχεις ἔρωτα, ἢ εἶχες πότε, ὃς ἀπέρασε καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν καιρόν.

† Literally, *run down*. Εἶσαι καταρεχμένος ἰσὺ, ἢ κανένας συγγενὴς ἢ φίλος σου ἀπὸ τὴν Διοίκησιν τῆς Πατρίδος μας, &c.

‡ Σοὺ ἀκολούθησεν μέγα τι εἰς τὴν ζωήν σου.

5. * Are you acquainted with any great political mystery, or any discovery worthy of mention, or any other important secret? Whence did you learn it? Do any others know it? and who are they? Have you the necessary proofs of it, and *what is it?*

6. † Have you any distinguishing excellence, secret or notorious? or any extraordinary accomplishment?

Such were the questions which the new brother was obliged to answer before his adoption. I am not aware whether his admission or rejection depended in any way upon the nature of his answers, but I am inclined to think not. It is difficult to suppose that a man was disqualified for the Hetaria either because he loved, or because, having once loved, he had been subjected by human weakness to the oblivious omnipotence of time. Nor can I believe that the members of that society were restricted to the poor or the wealthy, to the happy or the unfortunate; to those who had endured, or to

* Εξεύρεις κανένα μέγα μύστικον (secret) πολιτικὸν ἢ καμμίαν ἀξιολόγητον ἐφεύρεσιν ἢ ἄλλο τι μέγα ἀποκρυφόν, &c. &c.

† Ἔχεις κανένα μέγα πρόσωπα κρύφον ἢ φανερωμένον; ἢ καμμίαν ἐπιδεξιότητα ξεχωριστήν.

those who had escaped oppression; to those who possessed friends, or to those who were friendless. It was probably sufficient that the candidate, by a faithful answer to interrogations, some of which are sufficiently inquisitorial, put the society in possession of the history of some of the most private actions of his life, and gave thereby some sort of pledge for his future conduct.

The object (Σκόπος) of the Hetaria is expressed in these words:—"The Hetaria consists of native Greeks, patriots, and is named the Society of the Friendly. Their object is the purification * of this nation, and, with the aid of Heaven, their independence."

The "principal oath" which united them in their object, and consecrated them to the accomplishment of it, is of considerable length, but so full of interest, that I shall make no excuse for presenting my readers with the whole of it, in expression or substance.

"In the presence of the true God, spontaneously

* I cannot decipher the word in the original MS., but it appears to contain the letters ... θαρσ .. Neither is the Romaic orthography of my author at all generally correct. The very title of his society he invariably writes Αἰτηρία, Hæteria.

I swear, that I will be faithful to the Hetaria * in all and through all; I will never betray the slightest portion of its acts † or words; nor will I ever in any manner give even my relatives or friends to understand that I am acquainted with them.

"I swear, that henceforward I will not enter into any other society, or into any ‡ bond of obligation; but whatever bond of whatever I may possess in the world, when compared to the Hetaria, I will hold as nothing.

"I swear that I will nourish in my heart irreconcileable hatred against the tyrants of my country, their followers, and their favourers; and I will exert every method for their injury, and, when circumstances permit, for their destruction."

(Then follow two or three clauses, by which the members are bound to acts of friendship and mutual assistance, on all occasions; and to a readiness to admit such persons as possess the proper qualifications in the manner in which they were themselves admitted; and they severally

* Κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα.

† Agreements, determinations, *συμφάσεις*.

‡ Θὰ θέλω ἐμβῇ εἰς καμμίαν ἄλλην ἑταιρίαν μητὲ εἰς κανένα δεσμὸν ὑποχρεωσητικόν.

engage never to ask any φιλικον by whom he was introduced into the society, nor ever to declare who introduced themselves.)

"I swear never to offer any injury to the Hetaria, but I will consider it as a holy pledge, extending to the whole of my wretched race, and inviolable as the sealed letter *.

"I swear that I will ever so regulate my conduct that I may be a virtuous man; †I will incline with piety towards my own form of worship, without disrespectfully regarding those of foreigners; I will ever present a good example; I will aid, counsel, and support the sick, the unfortunate, and the feeble; I will reverence the Government, the tribunals, and the ministers of the country in which I may be residing.

"‡Last of all, I swear by Thee, my sacred

* Ἱερὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν πρᾶγμα, ἀνῆκον εἰς ὅλον τὸ τάλαιπωρον ἔθνος μας, κάθως τὰ λαμβανόμενα καὶ στιλλόμενα σφραγισμένα γράμματα.

† Θέλει εἶμαι εὐλαβὴς εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν μου χωρὶς νὰ καταφρονῶ τὰς ξένας· θέλει δίδω πάντοτε τὸ καλὸν παράδειγμα· &c.

‡ Conscious of the weakness of the translation, I refer with pleasure to the original, as containing a beautiful specimen of the powers of a language, on which the sentence of entire corruption has been much too hastily pronounced. "Τέλος πάντων, ὁρκίζομαι εἰς Ἐσὲ, ὦ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀθλία πατρὶς, ὁρκίζομαι εἰς

and suffering Country,—I swear by thy long-endured tortures,—I swear by the bitter tears which for so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children, by my own tears which I am pouring forth at this very moment,—I swear by the future liberty of my countrymen, that I consecrate myself wholly to thee; that henceforward thou shalt be the cause and object of my thoughts, thy name the guide of my actions, and thy happiness the recompense of my labours."

Here, then, let me conclude. I will violate by no paltry comment the sanctity of this exquisite adjuration. Poetry has produced little to equal it; liberty, piety, and patriotism will never surpass it.

On his knees, at midnight, with the image in

τοὺς πολυχρονίους βασάνους, ὁρκίζομαι εἰς τὰ πικρὰ δάκρυα τὰ ὁποια τόσους αἰῶνας ἔχυσαν τὰ ταλαίπωρα τέκνα σου, εἰς τὰ ἰδικά μου δάκρυα, τὰ οποια χύνω αὐτὴν τὴν στιγμήν· εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν ὁμογενῶν μου, ὅτι ἀφιερώνομαι ὅλος εἰς ἐσὲ· ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς Συ θέλεις εἶναι ἡ αἰτία καὶ ὁ σκόπος τῶν διαλογίσμων μου, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὁδηγὸς τῶν πράξεων μου, καὶ ἡ Εὐτυχία Σου ἀνταμοιβὴ τῶν κόπων μου.

The whole concludes with a very violent invocation of the vengeance of God and man, if the Hetarist allows himself to be "unmindful for a moment of the miseries of his country, and the discharge of his own sacred duty."

his right hand, and the taper in his left, the young Grecian "consecrated himself wholly to his country." He swore, "by her future liberty," to devote his undivided existence, thought and action, soul and body, to her redemption and emancipation. Why need we search any farther for the cause of the Greek Revolution?

SECTION III.

A BODY constituted, as I have described the Hetaria, could not fail to be numerous and increasing. The principles on which it reposed ensured the respectability of a great proportion of its members, and the union of all was secured by their common interest in the object which they had engaged themselves to accomplish. It is true, that many Greeks*, most distinguished for rank or opulence, were never prevailed upon to enter into the society; influenced, no doubt, by the certainty

* I have been assured, that not more than one or two Athenians, if even that number, were Hetarists; and I know that some of the principal Hydriotes, though frequently invited, refused to give any countenance to the Society.

that, in case of discovery, they should be the first victims selected by the rapacious justice of the Sublime Porte; but no one will doubt that they were well aware of its existence, and were observing its secret operations with attention and anxiety.

Its funds are believed to have been very considerable; they were derived principally from the sum paid by every member on his admission, which varied according to his wealth or enthusiasm. They were for the most part deposited in the hands of Greek merchants at Odessa, and are said to have been consumed by the calamitous expedition of Alexander Ypsilanti. In fact, I am disposed to believe, that the focus of the Hetaria was placed rather in the southern provinces of Russia than in Greece itself, and that the numerous Greeks there resident formed a considerable, perhaps the greater, proportion of its members.

The first operations of that society seem to have been conducted with little prudence, since it is certain that, in 1815, Ali Pasha obtained possession of a copy of the "Catechism," and

even sent it for the inspection of General Campbell, who was at that time commander of the forces in the Ionian Isles. But happily for the existence of the Hetaria, and for the destiny, perhaps, of Greece itself, the tyrant mistook the origin of that document; by a very natural error, he was led to attribute it to some private machinations of the Philo-music Society, and remained ignorant and unsuspicious of the existence of any other.

Preserved from a danger so threatening to its infancy, the young society increased in power and energy. With silent and invisible growth, and nourished by the "bitter tears" of Greece, the roots struck wide and deeply, and extended themselves with a rapidity which proved the vigour of the plant, but excited fears that the fruit which it was intended to bear would prove untimely and precocious.

These fears were not unfounded: it is well known that, in the year 1819, Count Capo I'dstrias made his celebrated visit to Corfù. Its only ostensible consequence, indeed, was that attack on the Ionian Government which has been proved to be so little creditable to his sound sense, to

his political sagacity, or even to his sober and rational patriotism. His intentions, however, and his operations, were not confined to the Ionian Islands; they were also directed, perhaps with more ardour, and certainly with better judgment, to the neighbouring continent; and they were watched with inexpressible solicitude by its eager inhabitants.

The great patron of their honour and amelioration, the minister and confidant of the Emperor, whom they were taught to call their protector, and whom they wished to believe their friend, had appeared in Greece. What more was necessary to persuade that volatile and enthusiastic people that the hour of their redemption was arrived; and that their illustrious fellow-countryman was a messenger sent by Russia to give the signal for insurrection. Some of the more ardent members of the Hetaria encouraged that notion, and secretly fed the flame which was but too ready to burst forth.

So sudden an explosion, however, coincided not with the views of Capodistrias: he was too well acquainted with the present policy, probably with

the genuine sentiments, of his imperial master, to believe that any Revolution could ever receive encouragement from him; that Greece, alone and unassisted, should find the means of working out her own independence, appeared beyond the possibility of hope; that she should be obliged to any other power for her liberation was obviously contrary to the interest of Russia. It became necessary then to calm the irritation thus unintentionally excited, and the means chosen for that purpose was the promulgation of a very singular document*, which it is my good fortune to be able to publish entire.

OBSERVATIONS SUR LES MOYENS D'AMELIORER LE SORT DES GRECS.

Corfou, 6—18 *Avril*, 1819.

Fils de Notre Sainte Mère Eglise, nous sommes tous frères; liés par des malheurs qui nous sont communs, nous sommes tous portés à nous aider mutuellement; éclairés par l'expérience de nos

* I leave it, for many reasons, in the language in which it is believed to have been originally written. It was, of course, translated into Greek, but I never saw a copy of the translation.

erreurs, formés désormais à l'école des calamités, qui en sont resultées et qui nous accablent, nous sommes déjà parvenus à un certain degré de maturité parce que nous sommes tous également frappés d'une heureuse conviction, savoir, que nous devons nous aider mutuellement, *mais en ne nous écartant point des principes consacrés par la morale* de cette sainte religion, à la quelle seule nous devons de composer une nation, de souffrir à ce titre, d'avoir le sens profond de nos souffrances, et d'éprouver le besoin de nous en delivrer pour toujours. La marche que nous suivons depuis quelques années dans la vue d'atteindre à ce but, est, sans contredit, la veritable. Elle a pour guide les principes de l'Evangile; elle est dans la nature des choses humaines.

Faire du bien à nos compatriotes pour l'amour seul du bien, et sans autre intérêt quelconque; améliorer par là leur sort actuel et les préparer ainsi aux grands avantages d'une civilisation morale et chrétienne; ne nous mêler point de créer cette civilisation sur les bases d'un système arbitraire, ou des circonstances, mais abandonner

ce grand œuvre à la Providence, qui seule est l'arbitre des nations—

Telles sont en général les directions qui suivent les Grecs appellés par leur devouement au service de notre patrie; les uns en travaillant eux-mêmes à la meilleure éducation de leurs enfans; les autres en favorisant par des nobles sacrifices les intentions littéraires parmi nous, et en soutenant de leurs moyens les moins fortunées parmi les jeunes Grecs qui frequentent les Académies Européennes.

L'éducation littéraire n'est cependant pas la seule dont nous avons besoin; la patrie en reclame un autre. *C'est de la morale* dont il est question.

L'éducation morale doit se proposer pour objet de mettre d'une part en évidence les hommes dignes du respect et de la confiance de la nation, et d'habituer de l'autre graduellement la nation à respecter, à écouter, à croire à ces hommes.

Si les époques où tout promettoit à notre patrie l'avenir le plus honorable et le plus heureux sont passées en emportant avec elles nos meilleures espérances, c'est que les hommes dont cette patrie,

devait se composer, n'étaient pas encore faits ni pour écouter la voix auguste de la vérité ni pour être écoutés de la masse de nos concitoyens: peu de lumières, nulle expérience, point d'usage du monde et moins encore de mœurs, constituait toute notre patrimoine d'alors. On existe mal dans cette pauvreté de moyens lorsqu'on est au milieu d'un état de choses habituelles; comment donc prétendre d'en sortir, ou d'en créer un qui soit meilleur?

L'homme qui vient de secouer le joug, peut porter rapidement son esprit à des conceptions libérales, mais pour rendre ces idées pratiquées il faut plus, il faut que le cœur de cet homme soit doué d'une bienveillance éclairée, telle que cette que nous est enseignée par l'Evangile: hors de là point du bien réel.

Où les conceptions libérales restent dans le monde des abstractions, et alors elles demeurent sans effet; ou bien elles deviennent l'instrument de l'ambition, et de l'intérêt personnel; alors elles perdent tous leurs attraits, au lieu de se faire chérir elles se font détester par le peuple; sa civilisation ne peut plus avancer; elle recule.

Rendons-nous compte loyamment des évènemens qui remplissent la moitié de notre siècle; déscendons avec recueillement dans le fond de nos consciences; scrutons celles de nos compatriotes qui se sont trouvés à même de nous rendre quelque service, et qui ont manqués les belles et grandes occasions de s'en acquitter, et nous serons profondement convaincus que, moins de l'ignorance d'un part et ce défaut de caractère morale de l'autre, les hommes les plus distingués parmi nos pères favorisés par les circonstances de leurs temps, nous auraient legués des destinées moins problématiques, et l'amélioration progressive de notre sort.

Cette amélioration neanmoins commence; son élement principal consiste dans le crédit qu'ont eu parmi nous, depuis quelques années, les vérités que nous venons de retracer. Il s'agit maintenant de cultiver avec suite et sagesse cette heureuse tendance de nos compatriotes, et de la porter graduellement à des résultats satisfaisans.

Un des moyens qui se présente pour ainsi dire spontanément à l'esprit, c'est celui d'associer à cette grande œuvre les efforts des plus éclairés

et des mieux pensants parmi les Grecs. Cette association semble exister, elle est dans la lettre, comme dans l'esprit de la fraternité Chrétienne; quelque soit le caractère profane dont on peut vouloir la revêtir, il est à desirer que cette association ne s'écarte point du bût que nous avons signalé plus haut, et sur lequel il importe encore de fixer l'attention. Nous le repétons, c'est de l'éducation morale et littéraire de la Grèce que les Grecs doivent s'occuper uniquement et exclusivement; tout autre objet est vain, tout autre travail est dangereux.

Le point de départ, comme le centre de l'éducation morale, ne peut être que l'institution du clergé; le nôtre n'est point institué, faute de moyens; en les lui procurant on remplira une belle tâche. Nous réduisons ces moyens aux suivans:

1. A procurer aux diocèses principales, les Evêques et Métropolitains les plus instruits et les plus exemplaires par la pureté de leurs mœurs.

2. A engager ces prélats indirectement à favoriser dans le cercle de leur jurisdiction les progrès des écoles publiques; à titre d'aumône

on pourrait leur en fournir les moyens pecuniaires.

3. A leur démontrer l'importance majeure du service qu'ils pouvaient rendre à la patrie, en administrant dans leurs jurisdictions respectives la justice avec une sévérité scrupuleuse et un désintéressement à toute epreuve.

L'autorité immense de l'Eglise renforcée de cette manière, deviendra la sauvegarde de la nation. Elle sera, seule elle peut-être, le berceau de son avenir. Si l'on voulait developer cette idée il serait facile de démontrer jusqu'à l'évidence, que c'est par la considération dont on environne le Clergé, et par l'influence salutaire qu'il exerce dans les rapports intérieurs de chaque diocèse, que l'on ondera *sur les bases actuelles* la régénération de la nation, et qu'on aura, pour ansi dire, en main le fil auquel se ratâche ce grand évènement.

Il est inutile d'observer ici, que dans l'état actuel des choses, c'est par ce moyen seul qu'on peut favoriser d'un part l'élevation des hommes qui doivent être écoutées, et entretenir de l'autre le respect et la confiance du peuple envers ces derniers.

Quelques soient les chances des évènemens, soit que la situation actuelle de notre patrie ait à se maintenir inaltérable pour des longues années, soit que la Grèce ait à subir une crise, il est toujours d'un grand intérêt.

1e. Que la Nation soit entièrement devoué à son Eglise et que par là, le peuple de chaque contrée soit porté naturellement à reconnaître et à chérir les chefs, qui se trouvent avoir le plus travaillé à son bonheur.

2e. Que les Pasteurs soient, autant que faire se pourra, les organes de ce grand résultat.

3o. Que l' instruction publique soit identifiée à celle du Clergé, que l'une ne puisse jamais se détacher de l'autre, moins encore être en divergence.

En favorisant l'instruction de la jeunesse, et en attirant soigneusement dans le sein de leurs familles les hommes formés à l'école des Universités et du monde, il faut avoir grand soin de ne point leur permettre de se placer en opposition de l'Eglise.

C'est là une grande service, que les Grecs jouissants de quelque crédit peuvent et doivent

rendre à leur patrie. Ils y parviendront en modérant par leur ascendant les prétensions des sçavants et en neutralisant les préjugés dont l'ignorance aime à s'environner.

Nous avons dit qu'il est d'une importance majeure de porter aux grandes diocèses des prélats éclairés et réverés par la pureté de leurs mœurs.

La seconde partie de l'éducation morale doit avoir pour objet la formation des hommes aux affaires de leurs pays. La meilleure école pour nous, est celle que nous offrent les peuples Chrétiens de notre religion, et les peuples libres. C'est en Russie où nous pouvons voir comment c'est de l'Eglise que dérive la prospérité nationale et le progrès de la civilisation.

C'est en Suisse, en Angleterre, et en Amérique, où nous pouvons apprendre par les attraits de l'exemple *la science et l'art de la liberté.*

La liberté est une science parcequ'elle se fonde sur des principes ; elle est un art ; parceque la doctrine la plus élevée ne vaut pas une bonne action et parcequ'en affaire tout est action. Il faut donc se trouver au milieu des hommes libres pour apprendre à être libre et par le principe et

dans le fait. Il faut vivre quelque temps au milieu d'une nation éminément chrétienne et religieuse et par là prospérante, pour apprendre à être religieux par sentiment autant que par discipline.

Les hommes influens de notre patrie devraient donc ne point perdre vue de ces observations, et en les adoptant faire en sorte que quelques jeunes gens parmi les nôtres reçoivent une bonne éducation en Russie, en Suisse, en Angleterre, et en Amérique.

Le commerce leur offre une occasion très propice: parmi ces jeunes gens on pourrait choisir ceux qui donnent les plus grandes espérances par leurs talens autant que par leurs mœurs, et les faire voyager quelque temps dans les pays que nous venons de mentionner. Un fois formés à ces grandes écoles il faudrait les faire revenir chez eux, et leur donner de l'ouvrage, soit en leur conférant des soins publics, soit en leur témoignant de la confiance.

La plus grande partie des Grecs qui se sont distingués dans l'étranger en regagnant leurs foyers se trouvent déplacés et hors d'œuvre, frappés d'ennui et de déconsidération, ils s'impatientent,

ils cherchent ailleurs l'existence qu'ils ne peuvent pas trouver dans leur pays; ils le quittent, ils sont perdus pour la patrie. Le grand point est de les conserver et de les faire travailler pour elle. Cette question en théorie semble d'une immense difficulté; elle est facile du moment qu'on la considère pratiquement; l'homme n'existe que d'un intérêt; le grand art consiste à lui en faire retrouver un, et associer cet intérêt à l'intérêt de tous.

Or, il n'y a pas de village que n'offre une masse d'intérêts sourtout pour des hommes qui sont doués d'une grande sensibilité et de beaucoup d'imagination; et lorsque l'histoire nationale peut émouvoir l'une et nourrir l'autre.

En s'occupant d'une partie du service de notre patrie, les hommes à bonne volonté peuvent lui être d'une grande utilité, soit en favorisant l'éducation, pour ainsi dire, politique des jeunes gens à grandes espérances, soit en utilisant ceux qui les auront réalisées par leurs soucis durant leurs voyages dans l'étranger.

Ces deux branches du service national demandent un point de contact, un centre commun d'où elles partent. Ce sont les hommes éclairés à bonne

volonté, et sincèrement chrétiens parmi nous, qui peuvent devenir le centre. En donnant constamment à tous nos efforts cette direction droite et morale nous ne manquons à aucun des devoirs, que chacun de nous a contractés envers l'ordre qui existe dans le pays, où se trouvent ses foyers, et le tombeau de ses pères; et nous remplissons en même temps loyamment et honorablement tous les devoirs que nous impose notre sainte religion. Elle nous commande l'amour de nos semblables, à plus forte raison celui de nos compatriotes.

Le jour où nous sortirons de cette ligne, lorsque nous embrasserons une doctrine différente, nos sacrifices ajouteront aux malheurs de notre patrie.

Il ne s'agira plus de bien public, c'est à l'ambition et à la vanité de quelques individus, qu'on fera encore servir les intérêts de notre terre natale.

Nous espérons d'être à l'abri de ce grand danger; les suites de nos erreurs pèsent encore sur nos têtes.

This extraordinary paper was probably intended by its author (and many doubts cannot, I think,

exist respecting that author) as a land-mark to direct the blind and irregular movements of the Hetarists. He considered them as having mistaken the true road which alone could conduct to the emancipation of Greece, and he wished to lead them back from the short cut which they were taking to liberty, into a path which, though circuitous, was yet plain and secure. Such at least was his professed, and such I believe to have been his real, motive.

In the mean time, the existence of such a document was always useful as a veil which, in case of danger, might conceal the real designs of the Hetaria; for it contains, in fact, not one paragraph which is directly revolutionary, though the object of every sentence be to prepare the Greeks for a mature and successful insurrection.

To inform the ignorance, and to correct the immorality of his countrymen,—to make their imagination useful, and their patriotism practical,—to establish, in short, a national character as the basis of political regeneration,—was a design worthy of a patriot and a statesman. But in considering the method proposed as alone capable of communi-

cating that sort of education which is the necessary precursor of sober liberty, we are astonished to observe that he places the duties of public instruction exclusively in the hands of the priests,—of that illiterate body which requires, he tells us, great general improvement, if not entire re-organization, before it can enter upon the honourable office which he has set apart for it. Why are not those who have received their education in England, in Switzerland, in America, or even in Russia, as competent to enlighten their uninformed brethren as the priest who has learnt his alphabet under the cannon of a Turkish fortress? Why are those to be made the sole instructors of the Grecian youth, whose very profession incapacitates them from travelling in search of that instruction which it is impossible to obtain at home?

Why, for this plain reason; those to whom the entire education of the people is confided, will ever retain a very powerful influence over their opinions and their passions; and in any matter of political importance, the Greek priesthood were quite sure to be the machine of the only power in Europe professing the Greek religion. Here it is, then, that

we discover the ambiguous features of the political * Hetarist! Under the well-disposed drapery of the patriot of Greece, it is here that we recognise the minister of Russia.

Can we, then, too warmly congratulate the good fortune, or the good courage of Greece, which has rescued her from the scholastic hierarchy which her most enlightened children were preparing for her, and which was calculated to have conducted her so very peaceably from the jaws of the tiger into the embrace of the bear †?

It is true, that the publication of this document produced, for the moment, the intended effect; no movement was then made towards insurrection;

* It is of little importance whether the author were or were not literally a member of the Hetaria, as long as he wrote papers for its regulation, and thus countenanced the belief that he was its patron.

† I do not accuse Capodistrias of any wish to enslave his country, even to Russia. He appears to have had two great objects in view; first, the moral regeneration of Greece, and next, her emancipation from the Turkish Government; and he imagined, perhaps, that a strict union with Russia was favourable to the former object, while it presented the only visible hope of accomplishing the latter; for no man thought so highly of Grecian talent, or so contemptibly of Turkish power, as ever to dream that that desirable event could be brought to pass without some sort of foreign intervention.

but was it probable that that restless and sanguine character, after being once roused to the hope of liberty, and irritated by distant glimpses of her radiant features, should return, at a single exhortation, to a state of permanent and philosophical tranquillity? What availed it to say,—"My brethren, recover your calmness; educate your children, reverence your priests, and continue to bend before the sabre of the Infidel. For *you* the hour is not yet come; you must die such as you were born; and thus, in some distant age, your posterity, perhaps, may merit at the hands of Providence a less rigorous destiny!"

Of all instructions, the most difficult of practice are those which bid us reject the good which appears present and obvious, for the sake of the distant and invisible future.

All, however, remained tolerably quiet till the period of the rebellion of Ali Pasha, which took place about a year and a half after Capo d'Istrias' visit to Corfù. A new fermentation was then perceived throughout Greece, and all the springs of the Hetaria were once more put in motion. Agents or members of that body, calling them-

selves Apostles (Ἀποστόλοι), pressed down in swarms from the banks of the Danube, the Dneister, and the Dnieper, and proclaimed by their presence the approach of the crisis which they were hastening by their exhortations. The sedative which had proved formerly of so much avail, was again administered; and during the winter of 1820-1, written copies of the "Observations" were once more abundantly distributed; but the disease had increased in violence, or the medicine had lost its efficacy; and the voice of moderation and policy was lost in the explosion of the Greek Revolution.

Let us terminate our present inquiry in as few words as possible. The existence of a powerful and increasing society, of which the express object was the liberation of Greece, and which was ardently bent on the accomplishment of that object, rendered the permanent tranquillity of the country absolutely impossible. A speedy convulsion was probable,—some convulsion perfectly inevitable; and any favour of external circumstances was alone required to decide the moment of action.

First, the rebellion of Ali Pasha, by creating an

enemy to their oppressors, rather than a friend to themselves, was yet a strong incentive to the zeal of the Hetarists; and next, the revolution of Naples was mistaken, by their eager and inexperienced eyes, for the beacon of liberty. Greece beheld the signal, and rose.

The revolution of Naples was extinguished by a breath, and the hoary rebel of Yánina has long since suffered the rebel's fate. But the cause of Greece, as it is distinguished in principle from the others, so has it been contrasted in success; and its confident supporters no longer tremble at the assaults of an enemy whom Providence seems already to have blasted with that madness which He has ordained to be the precursor of destruction.

An important Memoir has lately been written in Greek, on the origin of the Revolution, of which I have seen the French translation. I am not acquainted with the author, but though he has permitted himself to retail some falsehoods, on one or two of which I shall presently remark, he

is evidently well initiated in the mysteries of the Hetaria, and is in principle a *Capo d'Istrian*,—that is, a person who would have prepared his country for emancipation by a long process of literary and moral education; as such, he is of course an enemy to the enterprise of Ypsilanti.

From this Memoir, I learn that Prince Maurocordato, the Ex-Hospodor of Moldavia, conceived and executed, during his exile in Russia, as early as the year 1802, the project of forming a society of Greeks, for the purpose of instructing and enlightening their countrymen. This society had no immediate political view; its only ostensible object was the education of Greece,—the consequences of that education were foreseen rather than expressed. Prince Maurocordato died in 1814,—the direction of the society fell into the hands of less patient politicians; it changed its name, its nature, and its principles, and became such as I have described the Hetaria Philiké. Four persons (whose names are not mentioned) are represented as having assumed the direction of it.—"Ils créerent dans l'ombre et pour agir sur l'esprit ébloui du vulgaire, une sorte de gouvernement désigné

sous le nom d' Αρχὴ dont ils se firent les chefs, et qu'ils disoient en outre composé de Grecs influens au service de Russie. Ils redigèrent ensuite des statuts, et la formule du terrible serment qu'on devoit souscrire."

The author of the Memoir represents them as having sought converts only among the "populace," but as he afterwards mentions 1000 piastres as the sum usually paid on admission, we may be allowed to suspect some exaggeration in this part of his statement. Many of the most flourishing merchants did, no doubt, refuse their names to a society of which the discovery would have led them to immediate destruction; but it would be quite absurd to suppose that it did not contain much of the wealth and education, as well as of the patriotism of the nation.

The following specimen of the kind of letter by which the Adelphophœetos announced his adoption to the Council or Arche is very curious:—

"Cher Ami M. Dimitri,

"Je m'emprese de vous donner la nouvelle de mon arrivée dans ma *chere patrie, Smyrne.* Le voyage

a été fort malheureux, et sembloit comme le precurseur du triste evénement qui m'attendoit ici, la mort de mon pére, qui m' a ordonné par testament de vous faire passer *mille piastress* destinées à la reparation de l'eglise de son patron *St. Jean.* Je profite de l'occasion de M. *Zacharia* pour vous faire tenir la dite somme, dont je vous prie de m'accuser la reception," *&c. &c.*

The more active chiefs of the Hetaria sustained the ardour of the society by repeated promises of Russian protection; their sincerity, however, was sometimes doubted, and a Moraite named Galabi, or Galcotti, was sent to Petersburgh, to ascertain the real state of the case by a personal conference with Capo d'Istrias. That minister immediately undeceived him as to any hope of assistance from Russia, and Galabi returned to inform his countrymen; but he had scarcely set foot in the Morea when he died.

Not long after that event, Alexander Ypsilanti allowed himself to be called to the direction of the Hetaria,—" Il se declara, l'organ officiel de cette puissance occulte—Εφορος γενικὸς τῆς Αρχῆς—il créa

des Ephoris, ou commités dirigeants sur divers points de la Grèce ; il leur recommanda l'emploi de tous les moyens propres à séduire les Grecs ; à organiser l'insurrection *." He obtained a two years' leave of absence from his military duties, and fixed his head-quarters at Kischenow. However, two other deputies were sent by the still diffident Moraites, the one to Petersburgh, and the other to Kischenow. The latter became the dupe of Ypsilanti, and returned to the Morea with a false Ukase, " ou l'on faisoit tenir l'Empereur le langage le plus favourable aux Grecs, et le plus hostile contre la Porte. Camarina (the other deputy) s'étoit rendu directement à St. Petersbourg. Il y avoit vû le Comte Capodistrias ; ce ministre, non-content de donner verbalement à l'entreprise du Prince un desaveu formel, avoit remis au deputé Moraite des letters circulaires pour tous les primats de la Peninsule ; il y dévoila l'abyme ou l'on cherchoit a les entrainer. Mais Cama-

* A Russian subject, whose activity in exciting revolutionary movements in Greece, during the autumn of 1820, can be sufficiently proved, was probably the agent and dupe of Ypsilanti.

rina devoit éprover le sort de Galabi; prêt de s'embarquer a Galatcz pour traverser le Danube il y *mourut assassiné;* sa mort intercepta de nouveau la verité que deux fois les Moraites avoient tenté de connoître." Ypsilanti then attempted to excite the Servians to revolt. His papers were intercepted by the Turks at the passage of the Ada on the Danube, and discovered his designs. His efforts to revolutionize Moldavia and Walachia were, as is well known, equally fruitless. "Un seul rencontre avec les Turcs dispersa les foibles ressources d'Ypsilanti, et contraint de fuir en Autriche, il n'y trouva qu' une prison."

This Memoir contains so much good sense, and probably so much truth, that it may be worth while to contradict its errors, particularly as they are not uncommonly repeated from other quarters. "On sait, (says the author,) que les Isles et la Morée n'ont levé l'étendard de la révolte qu' apres avoir vû massacrer leur Patriarche," *&c. &c.* Could the Author of this able paper be ignorant that the town of Patras was actually taken by the

Greeks on the 4th of April (1821): that the revolt of Maina and Spezzia was contemporary with this event; and that the Patriarch was not executed till the 21st of the same month? so that his death was, of course, unknown in the Morea, till nearly a month after its inhabitants had taken up arms.

Another fable which the Author condescends to repeat is, I believe, of French invention; at least, it was first published by M. Raffenel, in his poetical History of the Revolution,—that the Porte received its first information of the meditated revolt from the British ambassador, Lord Strangford. Now, if it had so happened that his lordship had discovered the formation of a plot threatening the very existence of the Government to which he was accredited, I am not at all prepared to say, that his duty would not have obliged him to reveal it. Happily, however, he was not placed in so painful a situation. He had scarcely set his foot in his palace when the insurrection broke out, and was utterly ignorant that any such event was in preparation. I do not make

this assertion on slight authority, and am sincerely convinced of its truth.

That this charge (for as such it is intended) should have been advanced by a person so entirely uninstructed in the secrets of the Revolution as M. Raffenel, we need feel no astonishment; but I do marvel that it should be repeated by the intelligent Author of "the Memoir;" for he tells us, in the very same paper, that *Ypsilanti's letters* to the Servians were *intercepted by the Turks;* an event which took place some weeks *previous* to Lord Strangford's first appearance at Constantinople *.

I will waste on this subject one more unnecessary sentence. The prematurity and consequent failure of Ypsilanti's expedition, is attributed to Lord Strangford's disclsoures. Now his Lordship arrived at his post on February the 21st, and Ypsilanti was publishing proclamations at Yassi

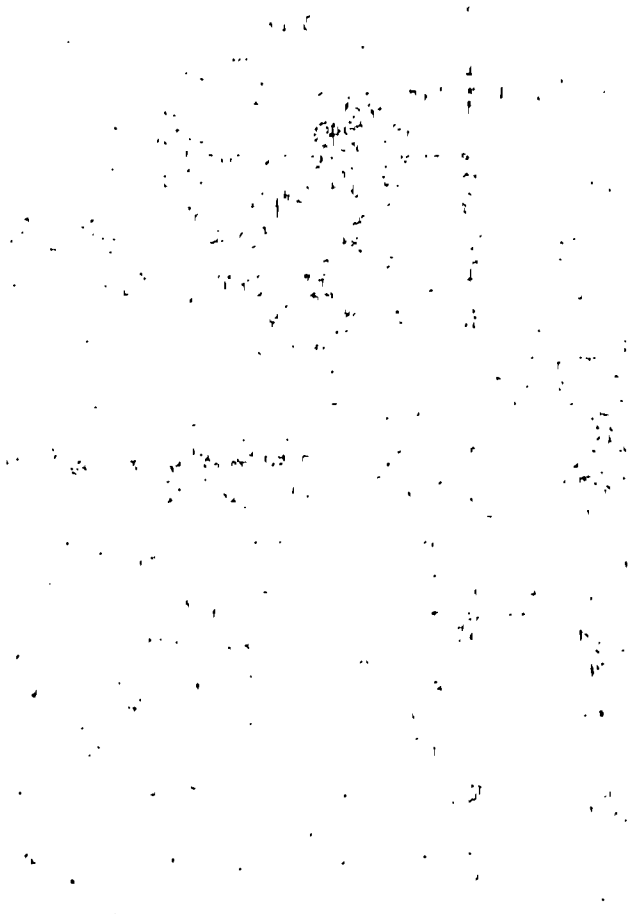
* The letters, of which I have seen copies, were written early in January; and they expressed the designs of their Author in terms so clear, that the divan could hardly require any further illumination on that subject.

on the 6th of March following. Thus, then, in *the space of one fortnight,* Lord Strangford discovered a plot, and gave information to the Porte; the fact became notorious to the friends of Ypsilanti at Constantinople; they communicated it to him *at Kischenow;* and the prince in consequence left Kischenow, and *travelled to Yassi!* This is beyond absurdity—the slightest computation of distances—the slightest knowledge of the state of the country, prove it to be *impossible.*

A VISIT TO ITALY

A VISIT TO GREECE.

The following Chapters contain the substance of information collected at the various places of which they severally bear the dates. Circumstances, which it is needless to mention, have prevented their earlier publication; but they will still be found to contain some novelty and some truth. The Author has ever been entirely unconnected with any Phil-hellenic Society, and was directed in his researches by no other desire, than that of obtaining the most authentic information.



MAP OF GREECE.

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A

VISIT TO GREECE.

I.

Constantinople, November, 1823.

PEOPLE have surely some right to complain, that after all the demands which continue to be made upon their purse and their enthusiasm, they are allowed to remain in complete ignorance of the real state of that country and that contest, in support of which they are sacrificing their money and their reason so liberally. Letters from Hermanstadt, and Semlin, and Cronstadt, and Odessa, fabricated at Augsburg, Paris, and London, the * three great mints of Phil-hellenic mendacity, have

* At Zante, Trieste, Frankfort, Stuttgard, supplementary laboratories have existed or exist. Even the sanctity of Vienna, the very temple of despotism, has been violated by a party of these daring and ingenious republicans. Their machinery was discovered, and their papers examined,—they were in the pay of the Allgemeine Zeitung, and were proved to have furnished many of the most animated, and not least authentic, portions of its oriental correspondence.

trifled too long with their hopes and their patience. So many sanguinary battles when no skirmishers ever joined, so many conquests when the sabre has never been drawn, so many details of heroism simply and purely fabulous, have at last driven many persons to the determination of believing nothing. From this incessant storm of forgery and falsehood, they seek their only refuge in utter incredulity. And this is one of the great evils which the false friends of freedom inflict upon the cause which they profess to advocate; human endurance is not proof against the rapid succession of their impudent impostures.

It must be confessed, indeed, that these persons have chosen the less laborious occupation: it is far easier to fabricate falsehoods than to ascertain truth. At Augsburg, *&c.*, all the secrets of the Revolution are public and notorious; but we are not nearly so well informed at Constantinople. However, three months of tolerable perseverance have enabled me to collect some facts, and to form some opinions, which may be as valuable as those usually published on the subject; and when I shall proceed, as will speedily be the case, to the scene of this barbaric conflict, it is possible that my communications may become more interesting. In the mean time, it is a little difficult to determine to what point we shall direct our immediate attention. Shall we plunge into the cold and winding

waters of diplomacy, and exhaust our passionless periods in eulogies on the * longanimous emperor of the north, the soi-disant protector of his bleeding correligionists? The details of diplomacy are not, indeed, without their attractions; and this negotiation in particular, directed and adorned by the genius of our ambassador at Constantinople, is in its nature so singular, and in its conduct so abundant in skill and talent, that it would alone furnish materials for an interesting and instructive volume. But as its real object has been to prevent a Russian war, not to ameliorate the condition of the Greeks, and as the latter consideration has been made throughout only subservient to efforts, thus far happily successful, to preserve the peace of Europe, it would be inconsistent with my present plan to engage in any particulars on that subject.

Shall we then escape to the discussion of commercial matters, and examine and compare the past and present condition of the Levant trade? The

* This word is now consecrated, in diplomatic language, to the exclusive homage of the Emperor Alexander; the attribute of the Czar is "longanimity." The term "correligionaire" is not less in use to express the tie which is supposed to unite him to the Greek subjects of the Porte.

On this union is founded his right of interference in the affairs of the Ottoman empire, a right which proves, on investigation, to be extremely limited. If any of my readers are curious to observe on how narrow a foundation what extensive pretensions can be erected, I refer them to Appendix I.

details of commerce, to become attractive, must first be made intelligible; and this attempt, tedious in itself, and laborious, might very possibly terminate in perplexity.

If, then, both commerce and diplomacy be too prolix and too dull for us, where shall we take refuge from ennui? One field is still open to us—a field where all the passions of man, unchained and unmuzzled, have occasioned nothing but crime and misery,—where, under the names of execution and commotion, murder and massacre have been allowed their course,—and when the most impotent or most wicked of all imaginable governments has exerted itself to display the perfection of wickedness or impotence.

I will proceed, then, to draw a very short outline of the principal occurrences which have taken place here since the beginning of this insurrection. The facts and the dates I have ascertained, partly from oral communications of residents, and partly from the use of one or two very copious journals, carefully kept during the whole period by persons who had access to the best information.

1821 The 16th of April was distinguished by the sacrifice of the first victim of consideration. Constantine Morusi, Dragoman to the Porte, a young man of many accomplishments, was waiting to attend a conference with the Internuncio, when he was seized without any previous notice, carried

to an apartment in the Serai, called Alây Kiosk, 1821
and instantly executed. Time was not even allowed him to put off his official dress, by which an insult was understood to be implied to his office, the highest about court to which a Greek could aspire. The reason given for this act was deemed amply satisfactory by every good Mussulman; in the translation of a Greek intercepted letter, he had omitted, it seems, a whole paragraph implicating a foreign court. He had, indeed, ventured upon this omission by the advice of two of the principal ministers, but they wanted either the time or the power to save him. The Sultan discovered the fraud by procuring a double version of the letter, done, it is believed, by a Sciot gardener in the Serai.

On that and the two following days ten other executions took place, of which the most remarkable was that of a very respectable member of the Mavrocordato family. It is needless to add that these murders are never preceded by any legal process, or by any form or formality of justice whatsoever.

Having spread general terror in the Fanal by these and similar measures, the fury of the Sultan was next directed to the Church; for the Church, as is well known, has ever been considered by the Turks as the medium of communication between the Porte and the Rajahs as a body,

1821 and as in some degree responsible for their conduct. The Patriarch at this period was Gregory, a native of Dimitzana, who had passed eighty-five blameless years in the exercise of piety: nothing, even by those who are least disposed to execrate the Turkish government, has ever been breathed against the character of this holy man. Twice had he resigned an office too conspicuous to please his unambitious virtue, and he had been called to it for the third time by the love and admiration of his countrymen. On Easter Sunday, at five in the afternoon, at the moment of quitting his patriarchal chapel, after the discharge of his religious duties, he was met by certain Turkish officers, who, after going through the farce of his deposition, conducted him to the door of his palace, where they hanged him *. In this situation his body was allowed to remain for two days, that, if there still breathed a Greek who was inclined to preserve any feeling of fidelity to the government under which he was born, he might learn by that spectacle to abhor and disown it.

The body, like that of the lowest criminal, was destined, after sufficient exposure, to be thrown into the sea; which is distant not more than two or three hundred yards from the "Metropolis,"

* The three archbishops of Ephesus, Dercou, (whose diocese is the whole tract of the Bosphorus,) and Akiallo, were hanged at the same instant in different parts of the city.

and law or custom required, that it should be 1821
dragged down thither by the legs, naked. Such an office was beneath the dignity of any Turk, and to have obliged Greeks to the performance of it, would have been thought perhaps an unnecessary insult. The Jewish quarter is immediately adjoining; and, for that reason, three or four Chiffooks, Jews of the very lowest condition, were compelled to execute a task which might not, perhaps, be ungrateful to them*.

The most singular part of the story remains to be told; and it is not on slight evidence that I have been brought to believe it. In the course of the following night, the body was fished up by a party of zealous Greeks, and subsequently conveyed by an Ionian vessel to Odessa; where, after being for some time exposed, and recognised by

* This story, like almost every fact connected with this Revolution, has been related, both at the moment and more lately, with various circumstances of exaggeration. The Patriarch was not executed over the gate of his chapel, but over that of his palace; nor, as far as I can learn, in his pontifical robes; no part of the congregation was massacred, nor was the church itself violated by the Turkish mob. The palace indeed was entered and plundered, but not destroyed. Even the wretched Jews, who performed their office, I believe, with great calmness and decency, have not escaped the condescension of calumny; and many of their brethren have suffered prosecution from the Greeks on account of the odium thus unjustly thrown upon the whole race.

1821 many individuals, it was interred with great pomp and solemnity.

I will not detail the many reasons which are mentioned as having led the Turkish government to commit this act of madness. The Russian ambassador, to whom the right of remonstrance seemed more particularly to belong, demanded of the Porte, with his usual energy, the occasion and object of so savage an exercise of authority; but he appears to have obtained no other satisfaction than the assurance, that no insult was thereby intended to the Greek church; and that the Porte was in possession of letters which proved the guilt of the Patriarch. An application to be allowed to see those letters was, of course, refused.

The effect of this most impolitic measure was easily foreseen by every one, except the "Imperial * Butcher." The desire for revenge with which it individually inspired every insurgent, was roused into life and action by the very hopelessness of pardon which it seemed intended to proclaim; in fact, some such act was absolutely necessary at that moment, in the uncertainty or despair of Russian patronage, to confirm and consolidate the Revolution.

* Sultan *Kassâpi* (Butcher) is the only name by which the Greeks, since the execution of the Patriarch, designate their late master, Sultan Machmood.

The lawlessness of the Turkish population 1821
which had previously manifested itself, appears to have acquired more audacity after that period. Some murders had been committed on Rajahs; nor was it held prudent even for Franks to venture to any distance from their own doors, though the continual discharge of guns and pistols kept up by Turkish soldiers, for the most part with no mischievous intention, and from the mere love of noise, probably created an alarm much greater than the real danger.

Baron Strogonoff was not of that opinion, and, after demanding an additional guard of thirty Janissaries for his own person, he proposed to the assembled ministers, to sign a joint declaration, inviting the courts of Europe to send a fleet to Constantinople for the protection of the Christian inhabitants.

This measure appeared to Lord Strangford to be much more violent than the occasion at all required, and, as that minister had first succeeded in obtaining from the Grand Vizier in person a written assurance of the sincere determination of the government to arrest the disorders complained of, he felt justified in refusing his signature; his example was followed by the great majority of the diplomatic body.

It was on this occasion that the insolent Muscovite, irritated by the failure of his favourite

1821 scheme, presumed publicly to say to the British ambassador, "that his name would descend to posterity, stained with blood," and, on leaving the room, he is * believed to have addressed to him these words:—"My Lord, I would wish *you*, too, good-night, were I not assured that with such a conscience you can never sleep." "Bon soir, M. le Baron!" was his lordship's cool reply to so savage an insult.

The Turkish government kept its word; and the excesses of the rabble, even the discharge of their fire-arms, were for the moment prevented, and nearly a month passed away in tolerable tranquillity. On the 1st of June, the feast of the Rhamazan commenced, and on the 15th is the ceremony of the distribution of the Baclavà, a pastry, sweetened with honey, which the ladies of the seraglio are supposed to present to the Janissaries. Now the astrologers had unfortunately predicted, that some † evil was to befall the people on that day, and it became the serious object of the government to avert that evil. For this purpose, they deferred the ceremony till the day following, on the plea that the 15th was

* I pretend to no initiation into the secrets of diplomatic meetings, but what is universally told and believed usually approaches very near to truth.

† Another interpretation of the prophecy is, that some *crime* was to be committed by the people on that day. In that case, the government equally obviated the evil by taking the criminality upon itself.

a Friday; and, in order to remove the threatened 1821
calamity, at least from the Faithful portion of their subjects, they ordered * five Greek archbishops, two prelates of inferior rank, and a great number of laymen to be publicly hanged. On the 16th the distribution took place, without any remarkable incident, other than that nine murders were committed in different parts of the city on Christian and Jewish tradesmen.

About the same time, the Porte selected on different days the number of four hundred and fifty Greek tradesmen or artificers, and sent them into the interior of Asia, to work in the mines of Maaden. In the mean time, the executions continued with great ardour, and during the few first days in July, above seventy Greeks of different descriptions are believed to have suffered.

Much inquiry was made about this time, in consequence of one of the demands of the Russian Ultimatum, into the number and condition of the Greek churches in the capital and its vicinity. It appeared, that in the city itself there are twenty-four churches and chapels; in the environs, as far as Phanaráki on the one side, and St. Stephano on the other, there are, under public sanction, from thirty-six to forty more. In Princes Islands, there are other eleven; making a total of seventy-

* The archbishops of Dercou, Adrianople, Salonica, Turnavo, and Silivria.

1821 three or seventy-four. Of those within the walls, seven only had been injured in the interior, as to the pulpits, desks, &c., but no one demolished; of those without, one only had been totally destroyed, and six others had suffered some internal damage, so that about sixty out of the seventy-four churches remained totally free from injury. This fact alone proves, that the general anarchy supposed to have existed in Constantinople at this period has been not a little exaggerated, and that it is to the studied brutality of the government, not to the lawless violence of the people, that the Greeks are indebted for the greater part of their calamities.

Not very long after the departure of Baron Strogonoff, there appeared to be an opportunity for arranging the differences between the Turks and the Greeks, on terms not unfavourable to the latter; and a paper was actually drawn up, by the proposal of Lord Strangford, which was intended to be addressed to the insurgents by the foreign ministers united at Constantinople. It awaited only the sanction of the principal courts of Europe.

The refusal of that sanction was, I believe, first notified by the cabinet of Vienna. That of St. Petersburgh is stated to have been equally violent (and with more reason) in its expressions of disapprobation; and the late minister of Great Britain is said to have subscribed, without hesitation,

to the political principle which prevented the ministers of legitimate sovereigns from all interference between the established government of Turkey and its Christian rebels.

And yet the moment, I think and hope, is not far distant, when, after a few more massacres shall have been committed, and a few more cities and islands burnt and destroyed, we shall observe the ministers of the very powers in question engaged in binding up the wounds which they might and ought to have prevented. The terms of reconciliation must now indeed be far more favourable to the insurgents than any which they could have hoped for at that period of the struggle, and so far will the ends of oppression be disappointed,—and so far may we scoff at the infallibility of those statesmen, who foresaw, in the might and legitimacy of Turkey, the sure and speedy extinction of the Greek Revolution.

II.

Constantinople, December.

1821 THE journals of the four last months of this melancholy year are filled with the execution of prisoners brought in, from time to time, from Moldavia and Walachia—the unfortunate victims of an enterprise, in itself as hopeless as ever was undertaken; but which, as a diversion, has proved of such eminent advantage to the cause of Greece, that posterity will be disposed to pardon the enthusiast who conducted it.

Sept. 22. The Porte communicated an order to the Armenians, through their Patriarch, to abstain from all communication with the Greeks, and even to dismiss any Greeks who might happen to be in their service. An exception was then particularly specified in favour of all such Greek women as were employed as nurses; who were allowed to remain, until the infants at their breasts should be weaned.

Nov. 24. A great part of the Turkish fleet came into harbour, and as soon as they were anchored, thirty Greek * prisoners were hanged from the

* Most of these wretches are believed actually to have formed part of the crews of the Turkish ships, and to have been selected for execution in order to give an appearance of triumph to the return of the fleet.

bowsprits of the different ships. This has been described to me by eye-witnesses as the most disgusting of the thousand spectacles of horror which had succeeded each other for so many months in this mighty theatre of crime and madness. 1821

Dec. 8. The festival of the birth of Mahomet was celebrated with great splendour and humanity, for it was not ascertained that more than three Greeks, priests, were immolated on that religious occasion.

The Sultan did not return to the city for the winter till the 17th, as his favourite astrologers had predicted some evil to his person, if he left the country before that day.

On the 14th of February, in the following year, arrived the intelligence of the * treacherous assassination of Ali Pasha, of Yánina. So miserable a triumph, so disgracefully obtained, would have been made a source of shame and sorrow by any existing government except that of Turkey; but here it excited only violent and drunken exultation. After the officers who had executed, and the Tartars who had announced, the splendid achievement, had been munificently rewarded with purses and 1822

* The Porte, contrary to custom, produced a kind of official account of this transaction, which was communicated by the Reis Effendi to Lord Strangford. His Lordship kindly obliged me by a copy of it, which will be found in the Appendix.

1822 pelisses, a grand * council was called at the Porte, to consider the state of relations with Russia. Certain military officers, the mutevelies, or pay-masters, of the different regiments, were invited to attend, and might be considered representatives of the Janissaries. The ministers assumed a tone of confident indifference as to the result of the negotiations, which ill became the actual condition of the empire, and the assembly answered that they were ready to co-operate with the government, whether the present crisis should terminate in peace or in war. On the same day, the directors of the esnafs, or trading corporations of the capital, were all summoned to the Porte, and told by the Kehaga Bey, that "though the Porte is not for the moment at war with Russia, yet is it perfectly prepared, in case of such aggression on the part of that power, as the † communication of a mediating minister gave a right to expect, to repel force by force."

The directors understood this as nearly equivalent to a declaration of war, and represented it as such to their respective societies. An order was at the same time published in the mosques, that every osmanli should have his arms in constant readiness. The effect of these measures was rapid

* On the 25th of February.

† A late note of Count Lutsow, the Austrian internuncio, is believed to have been here alluded to.

and uncontrollable; the capital and the Sultans 1822
presented a singular confusion of audacity, terror, and fanaticism; and spectators believed, that they beheld, in this frightful distortion, the last convulsive struggle of the Turkish empire.

The excesses committed throughout the city became at this period so general, that, on the 4th of March, a deputation of *Turkish* tradesmen waited upon the Porte, and delivered the keys of their magazines into the Kehayah Bey's office. They represented, "that it was impossible to continue their occupations as long as such disorders were committed with such impunity; that the greater part of their traffic was with the Rajahs, which was destroyed by the present persecution; and that they should speedily be obliged to look out for some other residence, where they might prosecute their employments in peace."

In consequence of this bold remonstrance from its Mahometan subjects, the Porte made a feeble, and perhaps insincere, effort to restore tranquillity; a Hattisheriff was issued, and two or three vagabonds executed; but with no permanent good effect. I have pleasure, however, in mentioning, that on the 13th of April, an order was published for the protection of the Christians during the celebration of Easter, and was very generally attended to.

The lamentable affair of Scio, which took place

1822 soon afterwards, did not contribute to improve the condition of the Rajahs of the capital. On the 13th of May, was the first arrival of slaves from that devoted island; and on the 18th, sixteen most respectable merchants, resident at Constantinople, but who were guilty of having been born at Scio, were executed. Three of these persons were by the Turks called *hostages*, which means that they were persons of influence and character, who had been seized by the Government, and by it made responsible for the conduct of their countrymen. As plausible attempts are sometimes made to justify the Turks in the execution of their hostages, it is right to make known the signification of that word in the Turkish, *droit des gens*.

On the 11th of June a plot was discovered for a general massacre of the Christians. Some soldiers, chiefly Yamafks, who garrison the forts of the Bosphorus, and are the worst description of Musselmen, had bought a great number of Greek clothes, which they had concealed in a butcher's shop in Constantinople; their intention was, in this disguise, to have assassinated so many Turks as to occasion a rumour, which at that moment would have been readily believed, that the Greek population was in insurrection; and this report would of course have led to a general order for pillage and massacre. This sanguinary plot, which had for its object the destruction of the lives and property of

above one hundred thousand innocent persons, was 1822
discovered by the Janissary Aga, and of those proved to have been engaged in it, some were bastinadoed, and one only executed! Such lenity, at such a moment, displayed towards criminality so monstrous, amounted surely to a proclamation of impunity. Several murders were subsequently committed in Galata, and even in Pera, which called for the frequent remonstrances of the foreign ministers, and the British in particular, whose interference obtained another ineffectual Hattisheriff from the Sultan.

The continued sale of the Sciot captives led to the commission of daily brutalities. On June the 19th, an order came down to the slave-market for its cessation, and the circumstances which are believed to have occasioned that order are extremely singular, and purely oriental.

The Island of Scio had been granted many years ago to one of the Sultanas * as an appropriation, from which she derived a fixed revenue, and title of interference in all matters relating to police and internal administration. The present patroness was Asma Sultana, sister of the Sultan; and that amiable princess received about two hundred thousand piastres a-year, besides casual presents, from her flourishing little province; when

* That is, a sister, cousin, or aunt of the reigning monarch.

1822 she was informed of its destruction, her indignation was natural and excessive, and it was directed of course against Válid, the Pasha, who commanded the fort, and the Capudan Pasha, to whose misconduct she chiefly attributed her misfortune. It was in vain that that officer selected from his captives sixty young and beautiful maidens, whom he presented to the service of her Highness. She rejected the sacrifice with disdain, and continued her energetic remonstrances against the injustice and illegality of reducing Rajahs to slavery, and exposing them for sale in the public markets.

The Sultan at length yielded to her eloquence, or her importunity; a license, the occasion of hourly brutalities, was suppressed, and we have the satisfaction of believing that this act of rare and unprecedented humanity may be attributed to the influence of a woman.

On the very night preceding the publication of this order, the rapid vengeance of Heaven had already overtaken the destroyer of Scio. On the 24th, the news of the death of the Capudan Pasha were received at Constantinople; and on the day following, whether terrified by so distinct a manifestation of the anger of Providence, or urged by the repeated exhortations of the foreign ministers, or roused at last to some sense of shame by the spectacle of the horrors it had tolerated, or satiated with carnage and massacre—the Sublime Porte

determined, seriously and finally, to compose the 1822
disorders of its subjects.

After the deliberation of a very numerous council of state, the Sultan published the famous Hatti-sheriff against the Janissaries, which contained the following or similar expressions:—

"Myself, and all the members of my court, "profess to be Janissaries, according to the ori-"ginal institution of that corps; but if the word "Janissary is to be held synonymous with that of "thief, assassin, incendiary, I from that instant "cease to be a member of such an institution, and "disavow its existence. If, then, the Janissary "Aga and his officers will come boldly forward "to arrest the calamities which afflict the capital, "I am contented; but if not, *I am resolved to "take up the two boys, my sons, and embark for "some other place*; leaving Constantinople to be "ruled by those ruffians whose enormities make it "a disgrace for me to continue on a throne, which "has become the jest of villany and sedition, and "the butt of foreign ridicule!"

This energetic proclamation was attended by vigorous proofs of its sincerity. Numerous patrols immediately paraded the streets, and seized a variety of vagabonds who were not prepared for such interference; many were thrown into prison, others taken to the castle on the Bosphorus, where

1822 they were strangled, and others executed on the spot. One Hassan Bairacdar, of the 21st Oda, who had committed great ravages in the Jewish quarter, resisting the patrol, was shot by them; his body (like that of the Patriarch) was delivered to certain Jews to drag down and throw into the sea. He was found possessed of one hundred and fifty thousand piastres in gold, and six valuable shawls. Other similar instances are on record, and upon the whole, about two hundred Turks are supposed to have suffered by this violent re-action of justice.

It only remains for me to add, that since that moment, no such horrors as those which I have mentioned without attempting to describe, have recurred. Constantinople was restored, by a single effort, from a condition of seeming anarchy, to its usual lethargic repose; and Turks, Jews, and Christians, returned to their former occupations, which have never since been interrupted.

Even the Government appears to have laid aside its character, when it disarmed the ferocity of its subjects: murders of either description ceased at the same period; nor is there recorded, during the last fourteen months, one single instance of what is called execution.

One conclusion we can hardly fail to derive from this coincidence,—that the Porte possessed at any

moment, the power of tranquillizing the capital, but that it pursued, up to the period in question, the savage policy of diminishing by every means the numbers and consequence of its Christian subjects; when it discovered, at last, the absurdity of that policy, it arrested in an instant *both* the engines of destruction. For the objects of persecution are not yet perfectly exhausted; the most wealthy, it is true, and the most noble, have fallen; but there exist still some fragments of distinguished families, some merchants, some widows, and some orphans, who by their riches, nobility, and innocence, have merited, like their friends and their fathers, the sabre and the bow-string.

The natural question here suggests itself,—if the Turkish Government be as brutal, and the people as unimproveable as they are usually described, would not the Christian powers be justified in violently relieving the soil of Europe from the weight of so much wickedness, and so much misery? The favourite project of driving the Turks into Asia—does it not become almost a duty to humanity? God forbid that I should advocate such suspicious philanthropy; three millions of human beings are not to be deliberately pillaged and expatriated for any crimes of their Government, ignorant though they be, and infidel; every principle of justice

combats such a design, and every principle of religion.

Besides this, it is well known that the Mussulman part of the population is subject to no species of general oppression: the habitual severity of the Government is exhausted on the Rajahs. To rescue from the injustice of the Porte its *Christian* subjects is, indeed, a scheme consonant with every virtuous wish, but of a nature somewhat too chivalrous for this diplomatic age: its entire accomplishment is, in fact, nearly impracticable; for there are Armenians, Bulgarians, and others, so incorporated with the empire, as to make it difficult to tear them asunder. But the emancipation of the larger and more active portion of the Christian inhabitants will be eventually effected by the success of the Greek Revolution. The actual insurgents are, indeed, not very numerous; but a rapid emigration of Greeks from all parts of Turkey into their own proper Hellas, would assuredly follow the acknowledgment of the independence of Greece; while the condition of those who remained would receive from the *fears* of the Porte much probable amelioration. Turkey, indeed, would thus be still further debilitated,—but Turkey has already displayed such wretched decrepitude, that she can scarcely be considered as retaining any place among the efficient powers of Europe; useless, absolutely,

except as far as she occupies certain provinces which Russia might occupy, she is for that reason tolerated, and exists only by sufferance*.

* Averse from any violent expulsion or subversion of the Ottoman throne, I really do not consider that we are bound to treat it with the same ceremony, or even the same strict attention to justice, which we should exercise towards a civilized government. The misery to which the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia are reduced by Turkish protection, is perhaps unparalleled in any part of the world; and I have been sometimes inclined to believe that this evil might be most easily diminished. *Transfer the protection of those provinces to Austria,*—to that power which is improving with such industry the contiguous provinces of Hungary and Transylvania,—to that Government whose *practice* is tyrannical only in Italy. Or if the Czar should growl at such a disposition, a part of Moldavia might be added to the frontiers of his empire. This arrangement would produce, I doubt not, a vast diminution of human wretchedness. But I acknowledge and lament the inutility of political speculation, and I sigh over the hopelessness of any project whose only foundation is humanity.

III.

* *Psarà; December.*

I KNOW not how to describe the feeling with which you sally forth from the straits of despotism into the clear and open waters of liberty. Behind you are the confined and castellated Dardenelles; before you the dark blue sea, which is once again † *Egean.* Behind you are all the miseries which attend on ignorance and slavery; before you (for enthusiasm can ever believe what it wishes) are

* Writing from a place called Ψαρὰ, (Psarà,) with the name Ψαριανός, Ψαριανοί, (Psarian, Psarians,) continually ringing in my ears, I found it very difficult to call the island Ypsara, and the people Ypsáriotes. Nor is there any reason why the correct orthography should be sacrificed to a practice which is only incipient, and established only by newspapers. But, alas! if the city has been already destroyed, and its intelligent inhabitants murdered or expatriated, it is of very little import under what name they shall receive the compassion of posterity.

† It was one of the first and most politic arts of reviving liberty to include the very language in her scheme of regeneration. The names of *Roman* and *Rajah,* associated by ages of oppression, are now alike disclaimed both by government and people; happy to be able to re-assert their long-forgotten claims to the name of *Hellenes,* and happier still, if the character of the hero could be assumed as easily as the title.

honour, and patriotism, and virtue, and independence. Behind you is the lair of the sullen Mussulman, and before are the dwelling-places of Freemen and Christians. So sudden a transition from the noisomeness of that political dungeon into this keen and boisterous air of freedom is productive of exultation at once rapturous and virtuous; and I little envy the selfish insensibility of that man who could pass, without prayers and prejudices, from so dreary a gulf of darkness into a region so full of * light and hope.

The first object which attracts attention on your approach to this little island is a telegraph. Nothing more is required to prove that you are beyond the barriers of Turkey, and have reached the outworks of liberty. The north-east and eastern sides of the rock present precipices apparently impregnable and entirely unfortified; and it is not till you have sailed round to the south-east and south, that you perceive the Greek banner floating on the mountain-tops. A few small batteries are to be seen commanding the landing-places on this shore, but situated in general much too high to be dangerous to ships of war attacking the city.

* The *White* Sea is a name generally applied in the Levant to the beautiful Egean, as contrasted with the gloominess of those Turco-Russian waves which roar to the northward of the Bosphorus.

Though all vessels direct from Constantinople are subject to a short quarantine here, (as in all the principal independent islands of the Archipelago,) I was allowed to land, with certain precautions, and pay my respects to the primates. I found them assembled, seven or eight in number, in a small, dark, dirty chamber, to which I ascended by a mere ladder. These zealous republicans were seated round the room on carpets, in the *Turkish fashion, cross-legged, smoking and turbaned, and in their first advances to conversation; there was some affection of Turkish dignity; but it was not long before they betrayed the most entire confidence in their own resources with an utter contempt for their enemy. "Your batteries are not too powerful." "Sono buone contr' i Turchi." "How do you live on this rock?" "†Asia supplies us with provisions." "Do you hear of any assistance from Europe?" "For three years we have fought without European assistance, and we can continue as we have begun." "For the loan

* This adoption of Turkish manners is very much too common among the leaders of the Revolution, whether priests, primates, or capitani, in every part of Greece; and the parade of orientalism is so much to the taste of the people, that fifty years of independence will scarcely suffice for its extinction.

† The active hostility of the Psarians, and their continual descents on the coast of Asia, have ever excited the peculiar indignation of the enemy.

which you expect from England, what rate of interest shall you probably pay?" "We care not about interest or any other conditions, as long as we can once get possession of the dollars." "It is reported, that next summer the Grand Vizier in person is coming out against you." "If Sultan Kassápi himself should come, we have a *burlotta* for him also." And when it was mentioned, that the Capudan Pasha had been received with honours on his return from the last fruitless campaign, they did not attempt to extinguish the laughter in which they vented their contempt and astonishment.

Their famous *burlottiere* Canaris was then sent for, purposely to give me the opportunity of seeing so distinguished a patriot; nor was I sorry to be thus introduced to that celebrated Turcophage. His countenance struck me as extremely different from that of any Greek I had ever beheld. His eyes expressed not the usual mixture of shrewdness and vivacity; but rather betrayed a certain wildness and enthusiasm, which defect (if in a Grecian and a warrior it be a defect) was sufficiently corrected by the grave and manly resolution which was represented in his lower features, while the whole was distinguished by that air of calmness and composure which so seldom marks the physiognomy of an oriental Christian. He was

obviously intended by nature to command his * countrymen.

They reckon their population at six or seven-and-twenty thousand, including refugees; and being themselves almost entirely sailors, and therefore frequently absent from home, they retain in their service, for the protection of the island, a corps of about twelve hundred Albanians, whose imitation of European tactics seems confined to the drum which precedes their irregular march.

Most of the ships of war are at home laid up for the winter, and of the three squadrons which are at sea, two are engaged against a *Grecian* enemy. Tricheri and Volo have lately accepted the Turkish amnesty, and the Psarians have in consequence established the blockade of the Gulf. "Hellenes, (they say,) who are faithless to the cause, are the most dangerous of our enemies." The Samians too, some months ago, refused to accept a Psarian governor or Eparch, appointed by the central government. The Psarians immediately blockaded the ports of Samos, and thus prevented those incursions into Asia, which had proved so distressing to the common enemy. This affair, however, is

* This might be fancy, but it is an exact description of the effect produced on me by the appearance of a person who was not then nearly so eminent as he is said to have been rendered by his subsequent exploits.

now (they assure me) on the point of termination *. Another small squadron assists the troops of Ulysses in the blockade of Negropont.

The Psarians are genuine Greeks, with no intermixture of blood, Turkish or Albanian. They have nothing in appearance or character which is not truly national. Ingenious, loquacious, lively to excess, active, enterprising, vapouring, and disputatious, they form a marvellous contrast with the solemn Mussulman whom I have just left indolently swaggering about the streets of Constantinople. And, I may add, that I have never seen a population more abundant in beauty and intelligence of countenance than that of Psarà †.

Samos contains about forty thousand inhabitants; and she can muster, on the slightest rumour of danger, six thousand Palecári, (Παλληκάρι,) or young warriors, for her defence. These men are in no way drilled or disciplined; but they are extremely well armed, and practised in irregular warfare by perpetual incursions into the opposite continent. The constant success of these incursions, as well as the repulse of the Turkish attack in July, 1821, has

* And such, happily, was the fact. Indeed, I have been assured, that the blockade of Samos was already raised when I was at Psarà.

† This city now presents little else than a deserted mass of ruins, and the greatest part of its female population is believed to have perished with it.

inspired the Samians with the most unreasonable confidence. "What need have we (said they, in their late dispute with the Psarians) of Hydriotes, or Psarians, or Spezziotes, to assist us in our struggle against the Turkish empire?" Confidence is sometimes courage; and if mere words can ever deserve a place in history, the dauntless reply of the Samians may look for immortality.

IV.

Syra, December, 1823.

In my way hither from Psarà, I was driven by contrary winds into the admirable port of Skyros. That wretched rock is also independent; and its strength and its nakedness may very long preserve it so. It appears, however, at present, to be a kind of appendage to Psarà. The Eparch is a Psarian, and the two deputies which it sends to the Congress are chosen by Psarian influence. It is *said to contain about six hundred families, and to produce, on a spot of fertile ground adjoining the town, both corn and wine sufficient for their subsistence. The inhabitants are unusually dark, but extremely handsome, and, in this respect at least, are not unworthy of their heroic ancestors.

Nature has not done very much more for Syra than for Skyros, but circumstances have made it for the moment the scene of some commercial activity. The place contains nearly five thousand inhabitants, who are all †catholics, either descend-

* I much doubt whether it contain half that number.

† There may perhaps be fifty persons of the Greek faith in the whole island.

ants from the Venetians, or their converts, for the language of the country is still Greek. Now, whether from the hatred which every apostate feels for the faith which he has abandoned, or from inheritance of the rancour formerly subsisting between the two churches, or from both causes united, there are no bounds to the detestation in which a catholic Greek holds an orthodox Greek. It is therefore that the former have taken no share in the insurrection, but have ever deprecated and deprecate its success. . . . . .

Fortunately, these schismatics are not numerous. At Tenos and Naxia, where their force is rather considerable, they form at last the minority of the population; so that they have not been able to prevent the revolt of those islands, but have followed, with some struggles, the stream of independence. But Syra, where all is catholic, could never be *persuaded* to hoist the national standard. The Turkish government was struck with the fidelity of this affectionate island, and, though it is rich and defenceless, they have not yet sent out an armament to destroy it*; they have even deviated, in

* Syra is in fact almost as guilty as Scio. Both islands were anxious to preserve their allegiance to the Porte, nor could persuasion or example seduce either into rebellion. Both, at last, were *forced* into compliance. The distinction is this: a distinction, too nice, I fear, for the discrimination of Turkish justice. The Sciots, with the aid of the Turkish garrison, might

its favour, from their usual policy, and allow to it exclusively a direct trade with Constantinople. Thus, all Frank vessels from Turkish ports bound for the Archipelago clear out for Syra; and magazines are established there to receive the cargoes, which are seldom any thing but corn. The harbour again is filled with small schooners, sacoleves, and mystics, (chiefly Hydriote,) which distribute those cargoes with very little increase of price *, wherever they may be required. The Turks have made no attempt to crush this little internal commerce, so necessary for the existence of their rebels, nor indeed have they the means to crush it. It is scarcely suspended even in the immediate presence of the Capudan Pasha.

There are about twenty-five merchantmen under the Austrian or Ionian flag at this moment in port, and there may besides be three or four French or Russians.

have repulsed the Samians, who bullied them into insurrection. The Syriotes, having no Turk in their island, were absolutely at the mercy of Hydra. Should this wretched warfare continue much longer, we may not improbably witness the destruction of Syra.

* It may be remarked as one proof of the *bouleversement* occasioned by the Revolution, that the Gulfs of Napoli and Volo, whence vast quantities of corn were formerly exported for Constantinople, now receive considerable supplies of that article from Alexandria or Odessa; nor is there any thing but money to offer in exchange.

Suppose not that the Greek government allowed this island to reap without disturbance the rewards of so profitable a neutrality. Fidelity to the Porte was treachery to Greece, and the appearance of two or three Hydriote brigs of war was sufficient to establish the independent flag, and secure the admission of Grecian officers to the administration of Syra.

In April last, a contribution of about fifty thousand piastres, (a thousand pounds,) a sum perfectly proportionate to those levied on the other islands, was demanded of Syra. Some difficulties were raised; but the presence of a few ships, with Admiral Meouli, immediately removed them. The poor Syriotes complain that they are thus subject to a double tribute. Legitimacy costs them some few thousand piastres a year, punctually paid into the treasury by an agent at Constantinople. Liberty is rather more expensive; and they pray, in their desperation, that, if Providence should refuse to restore them to the first of blessings, the domination of the Turk, it will grant them at least the indulgence of French * protection. In their insensate flight from Hellenic independence, they care not how insecure the post which becomes their refuge.

Every constitutional Greek will tell you, that the

* The French claim (I know not with what justice) a right of protection towards the catholic subjects of the Porte, much resembling that once exercised by Russia towards the Greeks.

sale of prisoners is forbidden by the "Law of Epidaurus." Every day I pass a cottage, occupied by four or five Turkish slaves, so notoriously for sale, that the prices of each have been communicated to me. All are females, and one of them a girl of great personal attractions, and a distinguished Moraite family. I have seen her frequently, with little compassion; for I cannot discover in her features or gestures one single trait of melancholy. Gay, noisy, and obstreperous, she is either depraved or insensible*.

The neighbouring island of Tenos has severely suffered by a visitation of the plague; for Turkey can destroy with her pestilence, where her arms have failed to penetrate. That evil has at last passed away; and the quarantine system, however imperfect, which is already established in the various parts of Greece, may go far to prevent its recurrence.

This island was among the first to declare its independence, and though entirely unprovided with navy, or other means of defence, it has not yet sustained any attack from the enemy. A few months ago, while Hursref the Capudan Pasha was

* It is generally true, that the Turkish women, who have had the misfortune to fall alive into the hands of the Greeks, have become reconciled to their fate with extreme facility. There are even instances, though rare, of those who have preferred the adoption of Christian manners to a return to the land and habits of Islamism.

sailing with his numerous fleet close along the coast, which is accessible and unprotected by cannon, a few insurgents, posted among the rocks, fired some musket-shots (in insult, rather than in malice) at the passing frigates. The sailors demanded permission to land on the island and destroy it; but the Capudan Pasha is believed merely to have answered, "They are children; leave them to their amusements."

He sailed away; and presenting himself before various other islands, Naxia, Santoria, Paros, Patmos, &c., all equally guilty, and all equally defenceless, he committed no act of violence or chastisement; but accepting some nominal tribute of bread or fruit, he left them in security, to rebel again.

It would appear that, during the last campaign, the Porte has determined to try the temporizing and merciful system; for a Turk is generally capable of mercy, when he believes it to form a part of his policy. But the Greeks are too well acquainted with the character of their enemy to be ever coaxed or cajoled into submission. Nothing but brutal downright force, nothing but a succession of victories obtained at Hydra, Psará, Napoli, Tripolizza, in the very centre and focus of Revolution, will ever reduce to a second slavery the broken remnant of the insurgents.

V.

Athens, January, 1824.

INDEPENDENT Greece is distinguished by five grand divisions, Eastern and Western Hellas, the Islands, the Peloponnesus, and Crete. Eastern Hellas, whose condition I shall now describe, will be considered by some persons as the most interesting province of Greece, inasmuch as Athens is its capital; for, however deformed and lacerated, however scarred with the sabre and the fire-brand, however steeped in tears and in blood, Athens is again a Grecian city, and again the capital of a Grecian province. If I could unclose the gates of futurity, and contemplate this immortal daughter of antiquity, such as she may be and will be, when the season of her regeneration shall be accomplished, and she shall have purged away the foul impurities of slavery,—glorious, and virtuous, and beautiful, as in her days of youthful splendour,—how eagerly would I tear from my memory the picture of what she is, and close the cold and melancholy volume of truth.

But if our prayers have hitherto been imperfectly accorded, for the foot of destiny can seldom keep pace with the impatience of human wishes,

let us at least not be ungrateful for the change which has already been granted to them. The first great step has been accomplished: Athens *was* under the despotism of a Turk; she *is* under the despotism of a Greek: she had a Mahometan, she has a Christian, government: the doors of improvement and civilization are thus thrown open, and the path is broad, and easy of discovery.

This province comprehends several of the places most interesting to our classical recollections. Attica, Bœotia, Doris, Phocis, Locris, with their consecrated mountains and groves; and extending to the north as far as the passes of Thermopylæ, it includes on the east the island of Eubœa. The only cities which it contains of any importance, are Athens, Thebes, Livadia, and Sálona. The two principal towns of Eubœa, Negropont and Carysto, are still in the possession of the Turks; and, in fact, the whole of that important island still remains under its former government. Indeed, the peasants of Negropont have suffered at least as much from their Hellenic liberators as from their Ottoman masters. Capitan Diamanti, at the head of some hundred followers, chiefly fugitives from the environs of Mount Olympus, has for some time lived at free quarters on the villages toward the north of the island; while the motley soldiers of Odysseus, in their foraging excursions along the western coast, distinguish not very scrupulously

between the property of a Mussulman and a Christian shepherd. And it should be added, that the present Pasha of Negropont, Omer, late Bey of Carysto, is a man of great courage and conduct, and, in some successful contests with his insurgent subjects, has never merited the charge of inhumanity.

Thebes, at the beginning of the Revolution, contained about four thousand inhabitants; it is now entirely destroyed, and its fate seems attributable rather to its unfortunate situation, than to any distinguished effort in the assertion of independence; for every Turkish force, whether proceeding from Albania or Thessaly, whether intended against Attica or the Morea, directed its march through that ill-fated city. Omer Brioni, in his way to relieve the Acropolis, in August, 1821, began the work of demolition; and the little which escaped from the hands of the Turk, sufficed to excite the jealousy of the Greek inhabitants of the isthmus. These sturdy mountaineers dreaded the vicinity of a place still possessing, as they believed, resources sufficient to invite the residence of the enemy; and proceeded to destroy the innocent cause of this possible evil. The Thebans beheld their habitations levelled by the arms of their brethren, and fled for refuge to Attica or the Morea.

The country of Bœotia has not been more fortunate than its capital; exposed by its vicinity and

easy access to incursions of the Turks from Negropont, it has been gradually and almost entirely deserted.

The fate of *Livadiá may be described nearly in the same words as that of Thebes; the first sufferings of both were contemporaneous, and inflicted by the same hand. The streets being narrow, and the houses built principally of wood, the flames which the Pasha had kindled, aided by a tremendous storm, spread rapidly and effectually. On his return to Albania in the autumn, he left a garrison to secure the remains of the city; and this was soon afterwards attacked by Odysseus, who had retired during the passage of the Pasha into the caves of Parnassus. The attack was destructive to the garrison, but completed, at the same time, the ruin of the city; and its inhabitants have generally sought the same refuge which has been granted to their fellow-sufferers of Bœotia.

Sálona was the scene of one of the first attempts made by the insurgents to introduce into their country some kind of government and discipline. In the Autumn of 1821, while Western Greece was receiving the seeds of organization from the rational patriotism of Maurocordato, Theodore †Ne-

* This city contained from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants, I believe, entirely Greeks.

† Mr. Blaquiere and Colonel Stanhope appear to have formed different opinions respecting the character of this person. The

gris was directing a congress of the principal inhabitants of Eastern Greece, collected for the same purpose at Sálona. These local constitutions were in general absorbed by the "Law of Epidaurus," which was published a few months afterwards; the Areopagus, indeed, whose revival and modernization is due to the ingenuity of the politicians of Sálona, continued to linger about a year longer, and was not finally extinguished till the congress of Astros.

The same circumstance which has proved fatal to Thebes and Livadia, has led to the comparative impunity of Sálona,—that of situation. A little removed from the direct line of the Turkish armies, it has * suffered less severely, though far more emi-

former (p. 311,) speaks of "the intrigues of a wretched adventurer named Negris." The latter (p. 181,) says, "This Negris is perhaps the cleverest fellow in Greece. He is a rugged statesman out of place, and professes to be a republican." And again, (p. 197,) "Monsieur Negris, *who is the ablest man in Greece*, and professes wise principles of government," &c. Theodore Negris was proceeding through the Archipelago, to fill the place of Chargé d'Affaires of the Turkish government at Paris, when he first learnt the news of the revolt of the Greeks; he immediately changed his destination, and proceeded to Hydra. Since that period, he has distinguished himself by his restless and intriguing spirit, and is now considered (how justly I know not) the most unpopular man in Greece.

* It appears that Sálona was in possession of the Turks for a short period at the end of October, 1822; but, as the greater part is built of stone, it escaped material injury. In the autumn of 1823, it was protected by Niketas.

nent in guilt, from the effects of that irregular justice, which is directed by convenience almost as often as by avarice.

The country about Sálona, more productive of olives than * corn, has been in a continual state of cultivation, and the crops last season proved very productive. I have heard the population of the town and district estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand souls.

Tálanda, situated on a little island in the Euripus, not very far from Thermopylæ, is indebted probably to its insular situation for its safety; it may contain three or four thousand inhabitants.

The passes of Thermopylæ are not defended, nor is any part of the country to the north of them in a state of insurrection. During the last autumn, Volo, a town of some importance, situated near the foot of Mount Pelion, accepted, in a moment of weakness or credulity, the amnesty of the sultan. The amnesty, I need not add, was immediately violated; but the Turks appear to have occupied the place in such numbers, that it may prove dif-

* Sálona was lately obliged, for a very timely supply of corn, to the poverty of its enemy. Yussouf, Pasha of the castles of the Morea, had received a large quantity of corn from European merchants, for which he had given bills on his government. The Sublime Porte dishonoured his bills; the merchants became clamorous; their outcries were increased by the murmurs of his unpaid soldiers; and the Pasha was at last obliged to sell the corn to the rebels of Sálona.

ficult for the inhabitants to recover their independence.

Such then is the miserable condition of the greater part of Eastern Greece; devastated, depopulated, and as open to the occupation of the enemy, as in the first hour of insurrection, it possesses little other protection than its own absolute misery and worthlessness.

Of Attica, I have yet said nothing; for of Attica it is impossible to say little. Let me hope then for pardon and patience, if, by a slight deviation from my present plan, I trace her steps with some accuracy through the crooked paths of Revolution, and engage in some details which the attractiveness of the subject may, perhaps, vindicate from tediousness.

VI.

Athens, February, 1824.

1821 In the month of April, 1821, about the period of Easter, that ominous period, when the Patriarch Gregory consecrated, by his monstrous fate, the cause of his country; nearly at this epoch in the history, not of the Revolution, but of the world, the * walls of Athens were scaled by the insurgents, and her streets filled with the victorious shout, "Χριστος ἀνέστη,—Christ is risen from the dead!" for such was the watchword chosen to sanctify an act to which patriotism was conducted by religion, and which was less properly Insurrection than Resurrection.

At the first sound of discord in the Morea, the peasants of Attica, headed by the Cassiotes, a brave and hardy, and almost gigantic race, inhabiting the mountains toward Phylæ, assembled in great numbers in the villages at the foot of Mount Pentelicus, where they were speedily joined by a body of Salaminians. The Turks confined themselves to the walls of the city; and little dreading the open

* The regular blockade of the Acropolis was not established till May 7.

attack of an enemy, which had, for the most part, 1821
no better weapons than clubs or lances, or various instruments of agriculture, they still thought it prudent to take some little precaution at night. For this purpose, (shall I be believed?) they posted *Greeks* upon various parts of the walls, with orders to inform them, should the rebels approach; while themselves reposed in stupid security round the fires which they had lighted within the gates. These Greeks entered, of course, into immediate communication with their brethren without; and it was agreed that they should signify the favourable moment for assault, by changing the word given them by the Turks, and vociferating in its stead, "Ἐλᾶτε· κοιμοῦνται—Come, they sleep!" This signal is believed to have been very frequently repeated before it was obeyed. At last, a short time before sunrise, the guards at the gates were rudely awakened, and, after a very feeble defence, in which twelve or fifteen men fell on each side, the Turks retired to the Acropolis, whither they had already withdrawn their families; and the city of Athens became once more the city of the Athenians.

But the more difficult operation was still to be accomplished; the citadel, though indifferently fortified and assailable from three sides, was still powerful against so resourceless an enemy. A blockade, however, was immediately established,

1821 and the subsequent arrival in the Peirœus of a vessel from Holland, with arms, enabled the insurgents to assume a more respectable appearance. They also procured one or two small pieces of artillery which they planted on the hill of Philopappas (the ancient Museum,) and occasionally discharged, with singular absence of skill and efficacy *.

* Some scenes took place during this period of the siege which would be absolutely ludicrous, were they not connected with so many serious feelings and considerations. I will barely describe one which is most commonly related by the parties in it, or the spectators. One day the Athenians having received some reinforcements from the island of Zea, were anxious to make a demonstration of their force for the utter intimidation of the enemy; and selecting the most natural method to effect this purpose, they decided in marching in long Panathenaic procession round the walls of the city. To make the spectacle more imposing, they called in the husbandmen from the vineyards, and for the aggrandizement of their cavalry, they pressed every quadruped in Attica which was capable of supporting the weight of man. The procession at length set out, and moved on for some time in great festivity and triumph; and the Turks collected on the fortress-walls, observed the incomprehensible scene in anxiety not unmixed with terror. At last, by the malice of Fortune, the pomp took such a direction as to present itself directly before the mouth of one of the guns of the fortress; and the Mussulman, by a singular deviation from his usual principle of warfare, chose that precise moment to discharge the gun. The ball executed its errand, and carried off the head of a Hydriote. Thunderstruck by so unexpected and unprecedented an occurrence, the whole procession, man and beast, dispersed at the instant; and while some took refuge in the

A wall of some thickness encloses and unites to 1821
the citadel a considerable area, extending beneath the southern wall of the Acropolis, from the Odeum of Pericles to the Theatre of Bacchus, and containing a well of indifferent water. This was the only spring then known to exist in the fortress, and the principal attention of the Greeks was therefore directed to the destruction of the fortification which covered it. For this purpose they exerted themselves with some patience to dig a mine, which they actually carried as far as the wall; but here their courage, or their perseverance, failed; to carry on the mine through, or underneath the wall, was pronounced hopeless and impracticable. However, that their labour might not be entirely lost, they determined to spring it, such as it was. In the mean time, the rumour of such an intention had spread terror throughout the city; some believed that their houses would be overthrown as by an earthquake; others feared lest the solid rock of the citadel should be torn from its foundation and hurled down upon them; and many, I have been assured, for greater chance of security, sought a temporary refuge in the neighbouring villages. After much preparation, the train at length was

olive groves, others fled for security to the rocks and caves of Hymettus.

If the Turks had taken any advantage of this panic, they might have recovered temporary possession of Athens.

1821 lighted, and the explosion, as taking place clearly without the wall, proved equally innoxious to Turk and Athenian.

The Turks had taken up with them many horses, and even asses, for which they soon found a great want of subsistence, while they observed the Greeks reaping a plentiful harvest on ground which they had been ever accustomed to consider as their own, and which was * still lying under the very mouths of their cannon. Determined to secure to themselves at least some share of its produce, they made a sally in great force, and even accompanied by many of their women, not armed, indeed, or intended to assist in the contest, but for the purpose of carrying up into the citadel the expected booty. This movement was made very early in the morning, and being quite unexpected, met at first with no resistance; but the Athenians soon rallied, and collecting in force, attacked the foragers with courage and success: they retired precipitately into the citadel, leaving behind them about twenty men killed, besides five women, negresses, who were taken and immediately put to death. Their heads, together with those of the Turks who fell in the

* In March last, I left a very promising crop of corn growing between the Acropolis and the Museum, and on the sides and summit of the latter hill. The open space within the north and west walls of the town was also sown with wheat, and the Temple of Theseus now stands in a corn-field.

action, were exposed in a public place to the curi- 1821
osity of the conquerors, according to the custom of the East.

Not long after this success, it was ascertained that Omer Brióni, Pasha of Yánina, was on his march from Albania with several thousand men, directed against Athens, and was already far advanced. What resolution were its guilty inhabitants to adopt! To defend the weak and extensive walls of the town, while the citadel which commanded it was still in the enemy's possession, was an attempt promising little hope of preservation: to open their gates, to resign their arms, and abandon themselves to the clemency of the conqueror, was only to take a shorter road to destruction. In this frightful emergency, the spirit of their ancestors came down to protect them; and whether it was that, through acquaintance with the most brilliant period of their history, they felt desirous to emulate one of the actions for which it is most celebrated,—or whether the same dangers suggested to them the same heroic means of preservation,—once more, and with * one consent, they abandoned their houses, and their temples, and their tombs, and sought their *antique* asylum in the island of Salamis.

* A very small number, chiefly old men and women, remained behind; they were of course massacred instantaneously, and their bodies left to rot in the streets.

1821 * Omer Brióni occupied the solitude they had left him; and the three months which he passed there were employed in the devastation of the country, and the destruction of a considerable portion of the town. It is, perhaps, more fair to attribute these excesses to the native Turks, who had been infuriated by their blockade in the Acropolis, and by the loss of several of their companions, than to the foreigners who had accompanied the Pacha. I have even been assured that most of the Beys (which officers form, if I may so express myself, the military noblesse of the Turkish empire) behaved with great moderation, and maintained among their own troops a tolerable degree of discipline. Let us, then, direct the weight of our execrations on the Pasha, Omer Brióni, who encouraged the soldiers in those frequent excursions into the mountains and villages, which they called *Greek-hunts*, and in which they were but too successful; who permitted the victims whom they brought back with them,—aged shepherds, perhaps, or Caloyers, or children, or women, to be butchered in the public places, or before the very doors of his own residence; and who upon one occasion, *at least*, ordered some of those wretches to be impaled, for no other existing reason than to oblige the monstrous caprice of the savages who had seized them.

* On the 31st of July.

As long as we condescend to treat with Turkey 1821
as a civilized government, we must judge the acts of her officers by the laws of civilization; and though I intend not for a moment to question her right to punish her rebels, (for call them by what name we will, to Turkey they are still *rebels*,) I can find no words to express my horror at that indiscriminate vengeance, that confusion of what is, with what is not guilty, of what might be, with what could not possibly be criminal; that principle, in short, (the only principle on which the Turks have ever acted, if they have ever acted even on that,) that every Greek is answerable for the offence of every other Greek.

Having consumed all the resources of the country, Omer Briòni at last retired, leaving the Acropolis well supplied with provisions, and under the protection of its former defenders. These men, emboldened by frequent and easy successes, ventured to continue their Greek-hunts, after the departure of their companions, but no longer with the same impunity. On the 14th of November, a large party thus engaged in the groves of Academus, and along the banks of the Cephissus, perceived some peasants at a distance, whose flight encouraged their pursuit; they were advancing in full cry, and had already exceeded the usual limits of their excursion, when they suddenly found themselves in the presence of a large body of

1821 armed villagers. The order of the chase was instantly reversed; in the haunts of the * hare, a tiger had at last been roused; and he proved as merciless in vengeance as his pursuers had been found savage in aggression. About five-and-twenty Turks were killed on this occasion, and the only one who was taken alive was instantly impaled on the spot.

The Athenians are very proud of this affair, and call it the Battle of Calandri, from the name of the plain where it took place †.

* The Islanders were in fact, before the Revolution, known to the Turks by no other name than "the Hares."

† Most of the Turks who escaped from this action returned to the city *sans culottes;* the importance derived from those dignified incumbrances had not been consulted in the hurry of flight, and great spoil of broad-cloth is said to have been collected by the conquerors.

VII.

Athens, February, 1824.

THE Athenians had already begun to look out from their hiding-places in Salamis; the "battle of Calandri" decided their return, and on the 16th of November they re-entered without opposition into possession of their shattered habitations. They then commenced, without any delay, the second siege of the Acropolis; and, filled with courage by the late advantage, they determined no longer to confine themselves to the blockade of an enemy whom it had proved so easy to overcome in the field. They resolved to surprise the citadel, and the night of the 24th was fixed upon for that purpose. 1821

* The ladders were applied near the south-west

* The assault was preceded, as in the days of Nicias and others, by a short harangue; so short, indeed, and so ungraced with Atticism, that we should be afraid to mistake it for the address of some sturdy Enomotarch to his Laconian warriors. The words were exactly these: Βρέ Μανδρασχυλιὰ· Θὰ ἰδγωμεν μὲ ἄσπρο πρόσωπο ἢ μὲ χισμένο; Μὲ ἄσπρο, Καπετάνι μας, μὲ ἄσπρο: and they are very nearly translated thus: "You bull-dogs, you! shall we come out of this affair with a clean face or with a foul

1821 extremity of the exterior wall; the Greeks mounted in silence, and unobserved; they advanced with speed and caution, and had already passed the Tekay, or Chapel of the Dervishes, and were approaching the inner gate (3) which leads immediately into the Acropolis, when they surprised a Turkish sentinel. They seized him, and made him the most solemn promises of life and recompense (for many of them spoke Turkish), on condition of his silence; but whether this brave man was diffident of Greek sincerity, or whether (and both are probable) he preferred the death of a soldier and a Mussulman to an act of cowardly and impious treachery, he made no other answer to their solicitations than a loud shout, which announced to his countrymen that "the Giaours were approaching!" He had no time to repeat this warning, for he was already hacked in pieces by the attaghans of the enemy; but the Turks were alarmed by the tumult thus excited, and roused themselves just in time to close the gate and save the citadel.

On the other hand, the Greeks kept possession of the outworks thus obtained, which were chiefly of importance as they included the space (A) con-

one?" "With a clean face, captain, with a clean face!" was the enthusiastic response.

It would exceed the imagination of Phil-hellenism to extract poetry or pathos from this dialogue.

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MILITARY PLAN of the ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

taining the well (*b*) already mentioned. Other attempts were soon afterwards made on the Acropolis, which, though conducted with some ingenuity and a * courage not unfrequently amounting to rashness, terminated without exception in the repulse of the assailants. These affairs cost the Athenians about two hundred men; a loss not inconsiderable, when compared with the number of their soldiers, and not equalled, I will venture to say, by that sustained by any other Greeks in any military operation undertaken since the commencement of the Revolution †. 1821

The endeavours to effect a breach were not more effectual, though one or two guns were brought as near to the western wall as the hill of the Areopagus. One shot, the only one of which the effect is at all remarkable, struck the Architrave of the Erechtheum, but happily without inflicting any material injury.

The besiegers had also recourse once more to a mine, in spite of the previous failure of a similar

* Some Cephallonians, about seventy, are mentioned as having distinguished themselves in these affairs; and I have been often assured, that the citizens generally displayed much greater intrepidity than the peasants, probably because they had more to gain by success.

† During the whole siege, they lost about three hundred men *in action*. A number, which will form a fair comparison with that of the *freemen* killed in some of the most celebrated victories of their ancestors.

1822 attempt; and with such increase of skill was it conducted, that it had been already carried under the first battery (B) with great promise of success, when its explosion was rendered unnecessary by the capitulation of the Turks.

From the night in which the well was taken, to the 22d of the following June, the day of their capitulation, the garrison, amounting, in the first instance, to about one thousand six hundred persons, with many horses and *beasts of burden, had no other supply of water than that furnished by the cisterns of the citadel; and even this, in their certain expectation of the usual rains, they had consumed with little economy. In the mean time, the winter,

* Much is said of the humanity which Mussulmen display towards animals. A singular proof of it occurred during this siege. Finding them suffering from thirst, the besieged lowered down a number of asses, &c., into the hands of the enemy; choosing rather that they should live in the possession of the infidel than perish miserably with themselves. It is even more singular, that two of these animals were actually preserved alive to the end of the siege; their owners had probably some private supply of water, which they preferred to share with their beasts, rather than with their dying brethren. When the Greeks first obtained possession of the town, they commenced a terrible persecution of the storks, driving them from the chimney-tops and old ruined columns, where they had enjoyed, under Mahometan protection, so many centuries of hereditary security. The sight of this barbarity is believed to have enraged the Turks even more than the destruction of their houses, and the violation of their mosques.

and next, the spring was passing away, and not a 1822
shower had yet fallen. They watched every cloud, as it rose from the Egean sea, and came rolling towards them; and, as it appeared to be approaching, they spread out their bowls and their spunges, extended their shawls and their turbans, and the very veils of their women, that not one precious drop might be lost, while the names of Allah and the Prophet were loudly and frequently invoked. *Not one drop ever came to them.* The clouds fell in abundant showers on the plains below, on the olives and the vineyards, on the neighbouring villages, and even once or twice on the very town of Athens; but they were invariably broken by the Acropolis, as if they shunned the red flag which was floating there.

This is no fable; and persons, of course, are not wanting, who here discover the special * interference of Providence. However that may be, the skies continued their partiality during a siege of seven months, and the Turks, diminished in numbers, enfeebled, and disheartened, at last capitulated. And here I must mention, to complete this

* If so, we must recollect that precisely the same interference of Jupiter Capitolinus, exerted precisely in the same manner, placed the same Acropolis, some two thousand years ago, in the possession of Sylla "the fortunate." If the Greeks should ever accomplish their intention of erecting a temple in the style of antiquity, they will do well to dedicate it to Fortune.

1822 extraordinary story, that, on the third day after their evacuation of the place, in the very driest and most improbable season, there fell a torrent of rain which deluged the Acropolis.

The principal officers of the garrison were the Vaivode, and, as usual, the Mufti and the Cadi; and, if some dissensions had distracted the chiefs of the insurgents, it would appear that greater unanimity had not prevailed in the councils of their enemy. The Mufti, it is said, in his zeal for the religion of which he is the local guardian, had, in the first instance, advised the entire destruction of the * town, and the massacre of all the inhabitants, and had even offered his fetwah to justify the act. The Cadi, a native of Constantinople, exclaimed violently against so horrible a proposal; and the Vaivode, a man not devoid of humanity, adopted the opinions and feelings of the Cadi. This last again is accused of entertaining a private correspondence with the Greeks during the whole siege, for which treacherous conduct the situation of his house, forming a part of the northern wall, afforded singular facility. These dissensions, however, and suspicions, to whatever bitterness they may have been carried within, seem not at all to have influenced the military conduct of the garri-

* While the peasants were encamped at Menidi, and had yet made no attempt upon the town. At that moment, such a proposal would not have been very difficult of execution.

son, who proposed no capitulation, till reduced to 1532
insufferable distress, and deserted (as they imagined)
by God as well as by man.

Entirely distrustful of the faith of their late subjects, and as if prescient of the fate which awaited them, the Turks at first proposed to surrender themselves to the European Consuls resident at Athens, and to be confined in their houses, till means should be provided for their embarkation for Asia. * Three only of these gentlemen still remained there: M. Gropius, Consul for Austria; M. Fauvel, for France; and Signor Origóni, for Holland. They pleaded, of course, their entire want of force to carry into effect any capitulation made to themselves; but promised their influence to secure the observance of whatever Convention the besieged might think proper to conclude with the Greeks. With little hopes of the efficacy of such influence, but afflicted by their own misery, and by the sufferings of their wives and children, which they witnessed hourly, and by the loss of about a third of their force which had already perished from want or sickness, they agreed, at last, with reluctance and almost in despair, to the following Articles of Capitulation.

* Signor Logotheti, the English Consul, left the country on the breaking out of the insurrection, and died at Cerigo soon afterwards.

1822

"CONVENTION,

Which the undersigned, the Commissioners of the Supreme Government, the Ephori of Athens and the Capitani, made with the Turks besieged in the Acropolis, when these last, being overpowered by the warfare of the Hellenes, and reduced to the last necessity, treated for a Convention.

"ARTICLES.

"1. That the Turks give up their arms and the Acropolis, and every thing contained in it, without any fraud.

"2. That the Hellenes preserve, with every possible attention, the *life and the honour* of the Turks.

"3. That every Turkish family take with it one * load of clothes; by which is meant, clothes for sleeping and for change; two kitchen utensils, with their coverings; two dishes, with their coverings.

"4. That of the silver, gold, and pearls, including too their ready money, (τὰ μετρητὰ) and every article of jewellery which was originally *bonâ fide* Turkish property, (for that which has

* Φόρτωμα, *i. e.*, as much as a beast of burden could carry. I imagine that the Greeks did not allow camels to be used upon this occasion, though I saw several in Athens in January and February last.

For the original Treaty, see the Appendix.

been plundered from the Christians is not comprehended,) they retain one-half. 1822

"5. If any Turks shall wish, by their own free choice, to remain at Athens, that freedom of residence be granted to them; but, for those who may wish to depart to Asia, that the government embark them in European vessels, under whatever flag it may happen, distributing to each family a sufficiency, for the voyage, of biscuit and cheese; and paying their passage.

These Articles are agreed upon between the two parties unalterably and inviolably; and so the present Document is given into the hands of the Turks, sealed with the public seal, and signed by the following.

"*Athens, June* 9—21, 1822."

Having, in my possession, the names of the Archbishop, of the two Commissioners of the central government, of the ten Ephori, and the eleven Capitani, who signed this Convention, I shall not publish them. Because I am not aware, to which of them, or whether to any of them individually, belongs the guilt of its violation; and I should be sorry that any innocent person should be involved in the infamy which must ever attend on all who were concerned in this execrable transaction.

The Archbishop, indeed, a very old and re-

1822 spectable man, is universally exculpated; and the conduct of the commissioners, as will presently be seen, was equally irreprehensible; and, it may be added, that some of the Ephori were already in Salamis when the massacre was perpetrated.

As the details of crime and misery furnish, not unfrequently, the most interesting portions of history, let us not pass over too rapidly the fate of the garrison of Athens.

VIII.

Athens, February, 1824.

On the following day, (June 22d,) the Turks evacuated the Acropolis. The strict execution of the fourth article led, of course, to some disputes; the besieged are accused of having, in many cases, endeavoured to elude it; nor can we doubt that such attempts were met, on the other side, by a determination to enforce it with sufficient severity; however, on this occasion, no blood was shed. But the day was not allowed to pass without the performance of a very savage act of retaliation. On the first rumour of commotion, in the March of 1821, the Turks had seized nine Athenians of consideration, and carried them up into the citadel, calling them, as usual, *hostages*. Not many days after this seizure, when the town was taken by the peasants, about forty Turks fell into their hands; the Athenians treated them (I am happy, at last, to have occasion for that word) with humanity; and, to secure their future safety, confided them to the protection of the Consuls. In the course of the first siege, after some unsuccessful skirmish, the Turks sought for consolation in the execution of their hostages, and dragging out from confinement 1822

1822 these innocent individuals, murdered them all. The first impulse of the Greeks was to rush to the Consulates, and demand the lives of those whom they had so lately and so generously spared; but they were obliged, after much tumult, to yield to the firmness of the Consuls, and to defer that vengeance for which they never ceased to thirst. The capitulation seemed to present the long-expected moment, and certain among them, (the relations, probably, or the friends of the murdered,) contriving to separate from the main body, and to detain in the citadel, on various pretences, a number of Turks, equal to that of the hostages, and having learnt from them the exact spot where their brethren had been butchered, dragged them to that spot, and immolated them. It must be added, that this act, of what may be fairly called Turkish justice, was executed after sunset, and without the authority or knowledge (as is believed) of any Athenian officer.

Hopes were still entertained that the terms of the Convention might, for the most part, be observed. The Consuls were making the greatest exertions to procure vessels for the embarkation of the prisoners, and had sent pressing messages, requesting the immediate presence of French and Austrian ships of war; and the second week after, the capitulation had already passed away in tranquillity.

The Turks, in number, eleven hundred and forty, of every age and sex, were principally placed in a very large mansion belonging to government: those of the highest rank only were lodged in private houses. Forty or fifty among them had already died in consequence of their previous sufferings, and a great proportion of the rest were sick and debilitated. All their arms had been surrendered, according to the capitulation. 1822

Early in the third week, the honourable efforts of the Consuls appeared likely to be followed by success. Two large merchantmen, the one under the French, and the other under the Austrian flag, were hired, and in readiness. It was calculated, that they were capable of containing from six to seven hundred persons. Preparations were already making for embarkation, and the Turks themselves believed the hour of security to be indeed approaching; and thus passed one or two days more.

Suddenly on Wednesday, the 10th of July, (a day to be noted for repentance and shame by this generation, and for eternal mourning by their posterity,) a report was circulated with astonishing rapidity, that the Turkish army from Thessaly had passed Thermopylæ, and was already at * Thebes, in its way to Athens.

Whether any such report really did arrive, (and

* The distance from Thebes to Athens is one long day's march.

1822 if so, it was premature,) or whether it was fabricated by persons who foresaw, and were anxious to profit by, its probable consequences, it is now impossible to ascertain; and I would that its consequences were as obscure and as ambiguous as its origin. All the soldiers, followed by a part of the populace, instantly rushed to the quarters, where the Turks were confined, burst open the doors, and commenced, without delay, the merciless massacre. What attempts were made by Primates or Capitani to restrain this madness, I know not; I never heard of any; and the Commissioners of the Government, finding that they had no influence to prevent the completion of an enormity of which they resolved not to be spectators, fled from a city already polluted with murder and perjury, and embarked at the Peiræus. They addressed, however, before their departure, a spirited appeal to the Athenians, exhorting them, at least, to respect the ancient inviolability of the Consulates. In the mean time, the work was already terminated,—one single hour had been sufficient,—one short hour was space long enough to imbrue the name of Athens with a stain so deep, that ages of patriotism and virtue are required to efface it!

And let us trust that it will be so effaced,—let us trust that she will derive, from the memory of this deplorable transaction, only a motive the more for amelioration, and that this dark spot in her history

will hereafter be placed in contrast with so much 1822
glory, that it may serve only to set off her future brilliancy.

About four hundred Turks were butchered on the spot. Some eighty or ninety, who happened to be lodged in houses adjoining the Consulates, escaped thither, with their property, and were saved. Of the rest, some were preserved by individual humanity, and afterwards delivered up to the protection of the Consuls; and others were enslaved by their captors; and, though most of them were afterwards ransomed, there are some who, having been immediately carried away by their ravishers, still, probably, remain in a state of slavery. There is consolation in being able to mention, that the very great proportion of the women and children were spared; though I know not exactly how far such suspicious mercy acts in palliation of guilt. That lust or avarice should have sometimes arrested the arm of murder is a very ambiguous compliment,—a compliment which the Athenian savage must be contented to share with the savages who rioted at Scio.

The same day, and under such auspices, began the *second flight to Salamis*. Some of the Athenians carried with them thither the Turkish captives who had fallen to their share in the morning's delirium: their beauty failed not to excite the

1822 jealousy of the Salaminians, and had the fury of these islanders been vented upon the ravishers, humanity itself would scarcely have lamented its effects: it fell, as usual, upon the innocent. Ten or twelve of those unhappy creatures, who had escaped the Hour of Athens, were wantonly butchered at Salamis; and about twenty others actually fled back again to a city still reeking with the blood of their countrymen, as to a place of comparative security.

Let us hasten to the conclusion of this disgusting history. A few days after the massacre, two French ships of war, the Actif and the Estafette, with a merchantman of the same nation, arrived in the Peiræus. There were then, in the three Consulates, three hundred and twenty-five individuals. It was determined to embark them instantly; and the French Commandant, le Chevalier de Reverseau, undertook to secure their embarkation. Conducting them to the Peiræus in person, with a very small escort, he was stopped near the gate by a body of Greek soldiers, who demanded one of his charge, a boy, intending, probably, to have followed the accession to that demand with others far less moderate. Some of the Athenian Primates, who formed part of the escort, advised the concession, it is said, and withdrew somewhat hastily. But the Frenchman, with that humanity for

which his nation has been occasionally distin- 1822
guished, and with the courage in which it has never been deficient, firmly persisted in refusal; till, being joined by a few more of his sailors, he felt strong enough to force a passage, which, however, was no longer disputed.

At various periods, from July 10, 1822, to the end of June, 1823, five hundred and thirty-seven individuals, forming nearly half of the numbers who capitulated, were embarked for Smyrna. Of this number, three hundred and forty-seven were preserved in the Austrian Consulate, and four hundred and forty-eight carried away under the French flag; and these, with the exception of a very small number, in French ships of war;—and I must add, that the conduct of the officers *commanding and serving in these ships, is universally mentioned with eulogiums, which I feel great pleasure in being able to record here.

Thus terminated a transaction, of which the above is intended to be a faithful representation. Some arguments, however, I have frequently heard advanced in palliation of its criminality, to which I am bound to do justice, and which I would willingly imagine persuasive.

It is urged with some plausibility, that the im-

* The Arriege Corvette, Captain de Choisy, came twice from Smyrna to Athens, in the beginning of 1823, and took away eighty-nine Turks.

1822 mediate *vicinity of the Turkish army rendered the removal of the prisoners perfectly impracticable; and that to leave them again in possession of the town, was to restore to them the liberty of renewing the barbarities of which they had been formerly guilty, when relieved by Omer Brióni; and that the Greek-hunts and impalements would undoubtedly be resumed by them with a fury proportionate to their late sufferings;—that their destruction was, therefore, in some degree, an act of self-defence. That some of the oldest and most experienced among the Ephori, as well as many of the most respectable families, were absent from Athens at the moment of the massacre; their influence might have entirely prevented its commission. That several of the people did, in fact, exert themselves for the perservation of the prisoners, and with so much success, that nearly one-half are at this moment actually restored to the land of their fellow-Mussulmen. That in the very height of their madness, the people had invariably respected the Consulates, and acknowledged the sanctity of the asylum protected by the flags of Europe. And, lastly, that the example of massacre, though unhappily followed by many of the inhabitants,

* That is, the supposed vicinity, for the Turks, in fact, did not arrive in Thebes till five days afterwards.

It is in vain to urge, that similar acts are to be found in history, unless it can be added that history has justified such acts.

had been set by the soldiers, of whom several 1822
were foreign mercenaries, who had no interest in the honour of Athens, nor any respect for the faith of treaties, nor any principle of action except the desire of plunder or revenge; and that, among them, as well as Albanians, Moraites, and Cephallonians, there were some natives of Scio.

If, indeed, the signal for murder was really given by the hand of a Sciot, fresh from the scene of the ruins of his country, his eyes yet moist with tears of sorrow and indignation, and the last shrieks of his enslaved family still ringing in his ears,—we might also be tempted to suspend in his favour the severity of our condemnation, and to pardon the savage retaliation to which he had been driven by his miseries.

But if our partiality should ever induce us to consider this massacre as a mere ebullition of popular fury, excused by circumstances, and mainly attributable to the sanguinary lawlessness of a few foreign soldiers, let us inquire what was the conduct of the Athenian Government *afterwards*, when the storm had blown over,—what anxiety was shown by the Ephori, or Capitani, to atone for excesses arising, if from nothing worse, at least from their own weakness. Of the prisoners who were saved, at least four-fifths lost the property which had been guaranteed to them by a solemn convention; let me ask whether that property, or any equivalent for it,

1822 was ever restored to those destitute wretches; and whether the very expense of supporting them was not borne by the Consuls whose firmness had preserved them? Let me ask whether those whose life, and honour, and liberty, had been secured to them by the most sacred promises of the Government and people of Athens, were not publicly ransomed or publicly retained in slavery, under the very eyes of that Government, and that, too, months after the excuse of popular lawlessness had ceased to exist? And lastly, whether the very ransom was not paid either by the Consuls themselves, or by the connexions of the unhappy victims of Athenian perjury? To enslave was as unjustifiable as to murder; and the Government which had sincerely disapproved of the guilt of either action, would have endeavoured afterwards to repair the one which was reparable. Such are my reasons for bestowing condemnation almost unqualified on one of the most iniquitous transactions that has disgraced the Revolution*.

* The massacre of Navarino differs in its circumstances very little from that of Athens, except that, being there unrestrained by the presence of any European agents, it was universal.

IX.

Athens, February, 1824.

THE Turkish army of Dramali Pasha did, in fact, 1822
arrive at Thebes on the 15th and 16th of July, and immediately marched forward to the Morea, whence it was not destined to return. Athens was not molested; oppressed, rather than protected, by about four hundred soldiers under the nominal command of a dozen Capitani, who were all at variance with each other, and with the Ephori, who were themselves not more unanimous than the Capitani, she was left to enjoy the first-fruits of liberty. Two principal parties seem to have disputed, and alternately obtained, possession of the Acropolis; one of the Ephori was assassinated, others were driven into exile, and scenes of violence and turbulence were daily repeated, which bring strongly to our recollection the most licentious periods of ancient republicanism.

Athens, however, had now made the first step in the march of revolution; from slavery, she had advanced to anarchy; her second movement was equally natural,—a relapse from anarchy into ano-

1822 ther species of slavery; and in this, at least, she was fortunate, that her reign of anarchy was of extremely short duration. Very early in the month of September, Prince Demetrius Ypsilanti and Capitan Niketas, having already saved the Morea from the Turkish invasion, arrived at Athens, charged with a commission from the Central Government to arrange the affairs of the province, and take possession of the citadel. A few days afterwards, on the 8th, Odysseus also presented himself to the Athenians for the first time, and for the same purpose, attended by about two hundred soldiers. Odysseus had been Captain of Livadía, as long as Livadía existed, and he was not unpopular there; the scene of his subsequent exploits had been confined to Bœotia, Doris, or Thessaly, to the mountains and passes of Eastern Greece, and he enjoyed considerable local reputation for talents and military skill. These reasons gave him an interest in Attica which his competitors, Moraites and foreigners, did not possess, and which the name of the Central Government could not supply; and the Athenians, believing that they had an entire right to dispose as they liked of their own citadel, re-conquered by their own exertions, resigned it, together with themselves and their property, to the ambiguous protection of Odysseus! The Government had the prudence immediately to confirm their choice, and on the 6th of October,

that officer was appointed Captain-General of Eastern Greece. 1822

It was a favourite maxim of the ancients, that no man's happiness ought to be pronounced upon till after his death; if the moderns would extend the same respect to the characters of men, or at least of those men whose characters can only be divined by public actions of which the real motives are perceptible to few or none, they would make, I think, a very wise extension of the discretion of antiquity. To ascertain those actions, and the real sentiments of their spectators, is alone a task of sufficient difficulty. Of the present Governor of Athens I shall, therefore, only say, that he possesses, in fact, the whole power, military and civil, legislative and executive, and that he does not appear greatly to abuse it. Few excesses of importance are committed by his soldiers, though an excellent police (the usual and most consoling attendant on despotism) is maintained among the inhabitants. The form of government as established by the Constitution is allowed to remain, and the election of the officers by the citizens has generally the appearance or reality of freedom. I have heard of no oppressive extortions, and have no hesitation in asserting, that if Athens had no brighter destiny in view than to continue a province of Odysseus, she would still have gained very materially by the present Revolution.

Andritzes, father of Odysseus, was a Thessalian, born near Thermopylæ; but after the affair of Lambro, in which he was implicated, he resided generally at Yánina, though he died at Çonstantinople. The son happened to be born at Ithacá, and to that circumstance is indebted for his heroic name; the Ithakesians, as if prescient of his future celebrity, determined to note him for their compatriot; and may he never give them occasion to disown him. He was removed at a very early age to Yánina, and received his education in the service of Ali Pasha, a school where it was easy to become instructed in every imaginable vice. Distinguished by the gracefulness of his person, and his skill in manly exercises, he was first introduced to the notice of his master by his extreme agility; and from his earliest recorded exploit, we should rather infer his descent from the Thessalian Achilles, than his birth among the pastureless rocks of Ithaca. It was this: he challenged the finest horse of Ali Pasha to a trial of speed and wind; the race was to be performed on rising ground, and the man was to keep pace with the beast till the latter should fall down dead. In case of failure, he was to forfeit his head to the indignation of his noble competitor. The Pasha accepted the challenge for his horse, as well as the condition proposed by the challenger, the execution of which he prepared to exact with great fidelity. The animals ran in his presence,—

the biped was triumphant, and became from that moment the distinguished favourite of the master, who was equally the master of both. His talents and address enabled him to maintain a situation to which they certainly had not assisted in raising him; and he rendered some important services, which Ali rewarded by presenting him with a bride from his own harem. The value of a gift, under any circumstances flattering and honourable, was enhanced by the extreme beauty of the lady; and that nothing might be wanting to the happiness of his favourite, the Pasha accompanied his present by a circular order to all the more opulent householders of his Pashalik, to pay to the bearer the sum of one sequin each. A dowry raised by the contributions of a province could not fail to be considerable; and the son of Andritzes became generally known and envied throughout the mountains of Roumelía.

His usual station, before the rebellion of Ali Pasha, was in the Passes and at the Derveni, in the neighbourhood of Livadía. At the siege of Yánina, in September, 1820, he shut himself up with his master till the desertion or secession of the Greeks in the spring following; he then retired to his native island, where he resided till the beginning of the Revolution. He was among the first who obeyed the call of his country, and he re-occupied without delay his favourite haunts among

the *caves of Parnassus and Helicon. In that position he harassed the Turkish armies, cut off their supplies, and impeded their advance into the Morea. From the caves of Parnassus, he was called to the possession of the Acropolis, and the command of Eastern Greece. Thus, then, from having run a race with a horse on a hill-side, is he become the adversary of the Grand Signor, and one of the most active competitors in the Stadium of Grecian independence.

Odysseus is in no respect distinguished from his meanest soldier, otherwise than by the symmetry of his form, and the expressive animation of a countenance which, though handsome, is far from prepossessing; for an habitual frown, and a keen and restless eye, betoken cruelty, suspiciousness, and inconstancy; and those who have derived their opinion of his character from the observation of his exterior, and the rumour of his most notorious actions, pronounce him to be violent, avaricious, vindictive, distrustful, inexorable. Those, on the other hand, who believe themselves to have penetrated more deeply into his feelings and principles, consider him to be under the exclusive guidance of

* There is a very large Cave in Parnassus, said to be capable of containing many hundred persons, which Odysseus generally inhabits, and prefers as a residence to the Acropolis and its temples. He has lately fortified and provisioned it with great care, and has even removed his family thither.

policy and interest. His passions, (they say) however habitually impetuous, will never betray him into any measure of great imprudence, while his flexibility will ever allow him to change with every change of circumstance; his violence and cruelty will seldom be wanton or excessive, while he possesses the power of assuming what virtues he pleases, and when he pleases; so that he is equally capable, for the accomplishment of his purpose, of a very good or a very wicked action. Nor is it doubted that he possesses talents to discern, and firmness to pursue, that interest which alone he is imagined to pursue.

For his religion he is known not to profess any ardent affection; the name of liberty he can hardly have learned to venerate at the court of Yánina; for his country, for ancient heroic Greece, he is the last person to feel or affect enthusiasm; but his profound knowledge of the character and government of the Turks, his acquaintance with the real terrors of their hostility, and the real value of their friendship, has inspired him with that contempt for the one, and that diffidence in the other, which would probably prevent him, even in the absence of all better motives, from any treachery to the cause of which he is become one of the most eminent supporters. I feel the rather bound to express this opinion, because I know that his fidelity

is not wholly unsuspected by foreigners, and even by a party of his own countrymen *.

The expeditions into Negropont, or the adjoin-

* I am not at all surprised to observe that this same person is described by Colonel Stanhope as having "*a good heart*," &c. as being "for constitutional rights," and as having "*sympathized* with the *people* and taken the *liberal* course in politics," *&c. &c.*, and I sincerely wish that the praises lavished upon him by that distinguished Phil-hellene may encourage him to endeavour to merit them. The fact, of course, is, that Odysseus, to gain any end, will profess any principles; and as the Colonel was believed to be the dispenser of the good things collected at Missolonghi, and to possess influence in the future distribution of the loan, he was obviously a person to be gained. Behold, then, the robber Odysseus, the descendant from a race of robbers, the favourite pupil of Ali Pasha, the soldier whose only law through life had been his sword,—suddenly transformed into a benevolent, liberal, philanthropic republican! It is true, indeed, that in 1821 Odysseus signed his name to a Constitution, *dictated* at Salona by *Theodore Negris*, in which there is one article expressly specifying a wish for a *foreign* constitutional *monarch*; but circumstances, I suppose, and principles, are now changed. However, it is not at last impossible that Odysseus may be sincere in his desire that Greece should be left to govern herself. The little kingdom of Eastern Hellas suits him very well; and in the probable anarchy of the "Hellenic Republic," he may forsee the means of securing that independence which, *in fact*, he possesses at present. I have very lately learnt that the Central Government, probably dreading some such intention on his part, are now elevating Gourra in opposition to his master. Their hopes, indeed, of establishing any degree of legal authority in that province rest a good deal on the disunion of those two chiefs.

ing provinces, are usually conducted by Odysseus in person, who, on every occasion of his absence, intrusts the protection of Athens to his favourite officer, Capitan Gourra; a brave, rough, faithful, unlettered, uncivilized gladiator, whose fame could never have found a place in any history, had not Fortune, with more than usual contempt of human vanity, mingled his barbarous name with the reviving destinies of the city of Pericles. It is for this reason that the savage exploit which first raised him to distinction must not be passed over in silence.

A Turkish officer of some consequence, residing at Athens, had incurred the enmity of Ali Pasha, who consulted Odysseus as to the means of procuring his destruction; the latter selected Gourra, one of the most daring and hardiest of his soldiers, to be the instrument of assassination. To avoid suspicion, Gourra was first despatched to Patras, where he had not long waited when an opportunity presented itself of travelling to Athens in the company of a merchant, unknown and unquestioned. He speedily became acquainted with the person of his victim, but the number and assiduity of the guards rendered it very difficult to execute his commission with impunity. At last, one dark evening, the Turk returned to his house slightly attended, and entered his gate the last of the party; and Gourra availed himself with cou-

rage and address of the opportunity which he had watched with the most vigilant perseverance. He was not so fortunate in escaping suspicion as in accomplishing murder; he was presently seized and examined, and the discovery that one of his pistols had been recently discharged was sufficient for his condemnation. His liberation was, however, subsequently obtained by the interference of Ali Pasha, and he returned to his master with pride and honour, a distinguished and successful assassin.

And it is here worth remarking, that the celebrated Halet Effendi, the late all-powerful favourite of Sultan Machmoud, merited the love and familiarity of his sovereign by an act very nearly resembling that which placed the earliest laurels on the brow of Gourra.

The appointment of Odysseus to the Government of Athens caused the immediate cessation of all intestine dissensions; but the Turks still occupied the country between Parnassus and Œta, in some force; and had even advanced to the immediate vicinity of Sálona. Early in November, the Captain-General marched out against them with about one thousand men; and though the skirmishes which followed were much to his disadvantage, he succeeded in concluding an armistice with the Pasha, by which the latter obliged himself to evacuate the country, and retire with his whole army

to the north of Thermopylæ. The passes were left in the possession of the Greeks, who thus reaped, by the address of their general, on the field of misfortune and discomfiture, the most ample harvest of victory*. 1823

The passes seem to have been subsequently deserted or feebly defended, for in the beginning of the following June, (1823) ten or twelve thousand men, forming the army of Yussuf Pasha Bercofzali, marched down with little resistance from Zeitun into the plains of Bœotia, ravaging whatever had been spared by the rapacity of preceding invaders. On their approach, the Athenians performed, about the end of the same month, their third emigration to Salamis. On this occasion, however, the secession was not quite universal; from observation of the stupidity and impotence of their enemy, they had collected an increase of courage; and about twelve hundred young men remained in the

* The unfortunate difference between Odysseus and Maurocordato, is carried, I fear, to animosity by both parties. Whatever was the misconduct in which it originated, (and neither party is free from the charge of misconduct,) its continuation is highly injurious to the cause in which both are sincerely united, and singularly disgraceful to persons who are so united in such a cause. It was hoped that, with the aid of Colonel Stanhope, the mediation of Lord Byron might have accomplished their reconciliation; and the sad disappointment of that hope adds one to the many causes of sorrow which are inflicted upon Greece by his death.

1823 town, resolved to attempt its defence. Odysseus had already marched with five or six hundred soldiers to harass the rear and flanks of the enemy, and the defence of the Acropolis was intrusted to Capitan Gourra.

On the 20th of June, the Pasha attacked a few Greeks who had entrenched themselves at Troidon, on the road of Rachova and Delphi, near the monument of Laius and the Han of Zimeno. He was received with great resolution and repulsed; but he afterwards turned their position, burnt part of Rachova, Delphi, and Chryssis, and penetrated to Distomo and the convent of St. Luke. When he afterwards retired to the plains, the Greeks were astonished to perceive that the convent was uninjured, and its contents untouched; nor was their wonder, perhaps, much diminished, when they discovered over the principal gate, an inscription to this purport:—"The Albanians in the Mussulman army have prevented the Turks from destroying this convent, because *they hold it sacred*, and have frequently used it as an asylum." This anecdote adds one to the numerous proofs of disunion constantly subsisting between Turks and Albanians, to which cause, perhaps, more than any other, the Greeks will be obliged for their eventual emancipation from both: nor is it uninteresting or uninstructive to observe, that the barbarities of uncivilized warfare are occasionally mitigated

by whatsoever sentiments of *religion and gra- 1823
titude.

Instead of proceeding, as was intended, with his whole army against Athens, Bercofzali was obliged, by some movements among the Agraphiotes, to concentrate his forces above the plains of Orchomenos and the Bœotian Cephissus. In this position, his supplies were interrupted by the skirmishes of Odysseus and the native mountaineers, whose patriotism was, on more than one occasion, very substantially †rewarded. A few troops only advanced into Attica, and some cavalry even reached the Peiræus, but their visit was of short duration; and their retreat, which took place in October, was

* The respect here shown by these wild mountaineers, was to a religion which not only was not their own, but against which they were actually waging war. There is, at least, great inconsistency in Mahometan feelings as directed to the religion and the persons of Christians. There is much disposition to respect the former, mingled with much contempt for the latter. The name, the doctrines, the birth-place of Christ, are objects of veneration; his followers are detested,—more, because they do not believe in Mahomet, than because they do believe in Christ.

† At the sight of the booty made by some of the more adventurous inhabitants of Coundourra, the whole population of the village took up arms, and formed an ambuscade; they soon surprised and killed some twenty Turkish horsemen, and obtained possession of their ample convoy of red slippers, coffee, rice, butter, and tobacco.

1823 not attended by the usual scenes of wanton *devastation. Early in November, Odysseus returned to his capital, and immediately commenced offensive operations against Negropont; and the fugitive Athenians re-occupied for the third time the remnants of their wretched habitations.

* In some correspondence between Odysseus and Bercofzali, the Turk proved his progress in policy and humanity, by expressing his strong conviction of the *utility* of sparing "the poor orphan."

X.

Athens, February, 1824.

THE modern town of Athens was never remarkable for beauty or regularity of construction: it has now suffered the demolition of about one-third of its buildings. Many Turkish houses were burnt by the Greeks, in the first siege of the citadel: many Greek houses were ruined during the occupation of the place by Omer Brióni; and many of both have fallen into the streets from mere humidity and neglect. The churches and mosques have not met with greater mercy in this religious war; and even the ashes of the dead have not been allowed to repose in security. The spacious Turkish burial-ground at the foot of the Areopagus, formerly solemn and sacred, and now scattered over with the fragments of its monuments, and profaned by the insults of the conqueror, attests the fury of a revenge not to be satiated by blood.

That part of the town which lay immediately under the northern or Pelasgic wall of the citadel, where the house of poor Lusieri will be recollected as very distinguished, has naturally suffered the most severely. It is the intention of Odysseus not

to permit its restoration; because the existence of buildings so near to this most accessible side of the Acropolis would facilitate the approaches of an enemy. Τὸ Πελάσγικον ἀργὸν ἄμεινον was the response of the Pythian Apollo; we shall not, however, readily suspect our philosophical modern of being under the guidance of any oracles of any divinities, however familiar he be with holy Parnassus and the caverns of prophetic Delphi.

The Greeks had scarcely obtained possession of the Acropolis, before they made two discoveries, which could never have been predestined to any Mussulman. The one was a small subterraneous chapel, underneath (or nearly so) the right wing of the Propylæum, and which appeared to have been long filled with rubbish; the other was the celebrated fountain of Pan, rising so near the north-west corner of the citadel that it was immediately enclosed by a new bastion; and being now comprehended within the walls, renders their defenders nearly indifferent to the caprices of the wind and clouds. The Ερεχθῆις Θάλασσα, or spring, formerly contained in the Erectheum, has not yet been discovered, nor can the exact spot for excavation with any certainty be pointed out. I believe, however, that there is not a soldier in the garrison who is not aware of its ancient existence; and it will probably be restored ere long to the exertions of an inquisitive and progressive people.

In the midst of so many circumstances of devastation, I am deeply consoled to be enabled to add, that very trifling injury has been sustained by the remains of antiquity. The Parthenon, as the noblest, has also been the severest sufferer; for the lantern of Demosthenes, which had been much defaced by the conflagation of the convent, of which it formed a part, has already received some repairs from the care of the French Vice-Consul. Any damage of the Parthenon is irreparable. It appears that the Turks, having expended all their balls, broke down the south-west end of the wall of the cella in search of lead, and boast to have been amply rewarded for their barbarous labour. But this is the extent of the damage. No column has been overthrown, nor any of the sculptures displaced or disfigured. I believe all the monuments, except these two, to have escaped unviolated by the hand of war; but almost at the moment of the commencement of the Revolution, the temple of Theseus was touched by a flash of propitious lightning, so little injurious to the building, that we might be tempted to consider it an omen of honour and victory.

The present miseries of the Athenians are exceeded only by those of the Sciots and others, who have suffered absolute slavery or expatriation; for, amid such aggravations of living wretchedness, we have not a tear to waste on those who have

perished. Three times has that unhappy people emigrated almost in a body, and sought refuge from the sabre among the houseless rocks of Salamis. Upon these occasions, I am assured, that many have dwelt in caverns, and many in miserable huts, constructed on the mountain sides by their own feeble hands. Many have perished, too, from exposure to an intemperate climate; many from diseases contracted through the loathsomeness of their habitations; many from hunger and misery.

On the retreat of the Turks, the survivors returned to their country. But to what a country did they return! To a land of desolation and famine; and, in fact, on the first re-occupation of Attica, after the departure of Omer Brióni, several persons are known to have subsisted for some time on grass, till a supply of corn reached the Peiræus from Syra or Hydra.

By a singular change of national character, modern Athens is, of all the cities of Greece, the least maritime. In fact, she does not possess one single vessel of any size or description,—not one Athenian sailor exists to pay homage at the tomb of Themistocles. The commerce of Attica is, therefore, entirely in the hands of foreigners, and the natives have no means of supplying even their own wants and necessities. It is possible that this cause may have contributed to augment their sufferings.

During the latter end of 1821, a violent epidemic fever made great ravages in many parts of Greece, and not least so in Attica. It made its first appearance at Tripolizza very soon after the massacre, and amply avenged the fate of those whose unburied corpses had been left to rot in every street. But Attica had *then* merited no such chastisement,—she was yet free from guilt, and conspicuous only for wretchedness.

Still it must be mentioned that this province, as well as every other, has some reasons to be obliged to the stupid perversity of the enemy. Shall I be believed when I mention, that the Turks never begin their annual invasions, until after the inhabitants have collected their corn in security? and that they always retire before the olive harvest commences? as if their object were, in fact, to inflict the least imaginable injury on their rebels. But this unintentional indulgence has been the less advantageous to Attica, because she does not produce nearly corn enough for her own sustenance, and because the olives have proved, for the last three years, unusually unproductive.

In my daily rides among the mountains and villages, (by which, though unarmed and alone, I risk little under the vigorous government of Odysseus,) I observe little else than distress and poverty. The villages are half-burnt and half-deserted; the peasants civil, but suspicious; the

convents abandoned or defaced, and their large massive gates shattered with musket-balls; while human bones may sometimes be discovered bleaching in the melancholy solitude. In the mean time, there is no appearance of depression or indolence. A great portion of the ground is cultivated, and crops are sown, in the uncertainty who may reap them "for the immortal gods:" the olives too, and the vineyards, are receiving almost the same labour which would be bestowed upon them in a time of profound peace.

In the city, the Bazar exhibits a scene of some animation; and, owing to the great influx of refugees from Thebes and Livadia, some of whom have even preserved a part of their property, there is here no appearance of depopulation. There is even occasionally some inclination to gaiety; genuine, native hilarity will sometimes have its course in spite of circumstances, and the maids of Athens will dance their Romaic in the very face of misery. But it will scarcely be credited, that the celebration of the Carnival is at this instant proceeding with great uproar and festivity. Drunken buffoons, harlequins, and painted jesters, are riotously parading the streets, while Gourra's sulky *Albanians sit frowning at the fortress-gate, and the

* Nearly half of the soldiers of Odysseus are foreigners, and chiefly Albanians. These are in appearance more barbarous, and in manners far less civilized, than the native Greeks.

Turks and the plague are preparing to rush down from Negropont and Carysto.

It is true, however, that this delirium is by no means universal. Very many of the inhabitants are far too deeply sunk in wretchedness to respond to any voice of mirth. The pale and trembling figures of women, who stand like spectres by the walls of their falling habitations; the half-naked and starving infants, who shiver at their breasts; the faces of beauty, tinged with deepest melancholy, which timidly present themselves at the doors and windows of their prisons rather than their houses—objects such as these are so numerous, and so productive of painful sympathy, as to leave us little pleasure in the contemplation of the progress of revolution; and Athens, however erect in her pride of independence, affords a very mournful and afflicting spectacle.

London, November, 1824.

In several parts of Greece, but at Athens most particularly, I had continual occasion to regret, that the large sums subscribed in Europe for the benefit of the Greeks had been applied to political rather than to charitable purposes,—that the money, which has been wasted in premature and ill-directed efforts to instruct and civilize, had not

rather been employed in the relief of the many innocent sufferers in this barbarous contest. I had *then* some hopes, that a simple statement, which I might hereafter make of the number and condition of the most miserable, by touching the mere compassion of my countrymen, would induce them to extend even to Greeks that charity which they have not withheld from Turks and from Arabs. But I have no longer any such hopes: I observe in every quarter such a lifeless indifference to the very cause and name of Greece and Greeks, that I will make no attempt to revive a sympathy which appears to be extinct for ever.

I made arrangements, that lists of the most indigent families, whether Athenians, or expatriated Sciots, Aivaliotes, Thebans, Livadians, *&c. &c.*, who are scattered about the islands homeless and destitute, should be made out by the archbishops or bishops at their several places of residence, and sent to me. As they were not completed when I left Athens, Mons. * Gropius kindly undertook the

* Colonel Stanhope, (p. 186,) on the authority of Theodore Negris, represents M. Gropius as an agent of the Holy Alliance. That an Austrian Consul should continue to discharge his duties to the Austrian Government, rather than forfeit his Consulship, is not more singular than that a British officer should obey an order to return to his country, rather than lose his commission. I require some new lights from Phil-hellenism to enable me to comprehend how the revolt of the Greeks can have absolved M. Gropius from the duty of corresponding with

office of procuring them, and he has very lately forwarded them to me here. M. Gropius, in the prosecution of our project, appears to have encountered the usual suspicions and jealousies, and combated all those little difficulties which Greeks for ever oppose to intended benefits. "Vous, Monsieur, (says he,) vous étiez Anglois, sans être Phil-hellène déclaré,—moi, j'étois Consul, et, ce qui pis est, Consul d'Autriche! Pour vaincre une si extrème prudence, il falloit montrer de l'indifférence, et ne la combattre qu'avec les armes du ridicule; Ce moyen me réussit, et je vins enfin à bout de persuader ces Messieurs qu'il n'y avoit point de serpent de caché sous l'herbe," *&c.*

The papers which have reached me contain very detailed lists of those *reduced to want and misery by the war* *, who are resident at Athens, Salamis, Egina, Syra, Miconi, and Tenos; for in these places the refugees are most numerous and most destitute. Many others have fled to the Morea; but the Morea is capable of supporting a much larger

his ambassador. If, however, M. Negris intends to say, that M. Gropius was ever commissioned to make any formal proposition from the Holy Alliance to the Greek Government, I will undertake to assert, that he is entirely misinformed. The object of his visit to Smyrna, (as M. Negris well knew,) was connected with the liberation of those unhappy prisoners whom he had rescued from the sword of the Athenians.

* Τῶν ἐν πενία καὶ καταστροφῇ εὑρισκομένων ἐξ αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου.

than its present population. They bear the signatures of the heads of the church at those places.

I will give, as briefly as possible, the contents of each of those lists; for they express much more accurately and powerfully than any effort of eloquence, the extent of misery which has been inflicted on that unhappy country.

The number of sufferers, resident in Athens, is 3783, of whom 2628 are natives of Attica; the rest are refugees. Of this number, 433 only are men; so that there exist in that city, 3350 women and children in a condition not far removed from absolute want. Its entire population, according to the most probable estimate, is about 13,000.

The list from Salamis is far more afflicting. That rock contains 11,477 souls, whom the circumstances of the war have reduced to misery; and, of these, 192 only are natives. The greater part are refugees from Bœotia; 1369 from the city, and 7460 from the country, of Thebes, of whom very nearly four-fifths are women and children, are existing on an island, of which the native population scarcely exceeds 3000. Of the rest, 2314 are Livadians, and some few are from Negropont and Aivali. Let us remember, that during the period of the annual Turkish invasions, nearly the whole population of Attica is added to this list, and that Salamis is a small, rocky, and barren islet, alike unprovided with habitation or sustenance for this

helpless multitude,—may we not imagine and deplore the scenes which are there exhibited, and sigh over the fate of an island, the favourite of our historical recollections, which has resumed its ancient name only to become the sepulchre of Greece.

The neighbouring isle of Egina contains 1192 refugees from Scio, Aivali, and Livadea, of whom about a fifth are men;—Miconi, 624, chiefly Sciots and Mosconesians. In Syra, there are 741, fifteen of whom are Cretans. During my visit to that island, I had frequent personal opportunities of observing the extreme wretchedness in which they existed. The list from Tenos is more considerable; 3034 is the number of strangers harboured there, amounting perhaps to a fourth part of the whole population.

It appears then, that these six places, into whose condition I have inquired, alone contain 20,851 persons reduced to extreme distress by the circumstances of the Revolution;—that the very great majority of these are homeless refugees, who have sustained the loss of their entire property;—and that about four-fifths of the whole number are women and children.

To this statement, I have not one word to add, for words are very powerless to excite compassion, where such facts shall fail to move it. But, if any additional calamities were required to complete the

mournful picture, I might mention, that they have appeared in frightful succession. Since the completion of the melancholy lists which I publish, the plague has descended into Attica with its usual circumstances of destruction: the fury of the Janissaries more recently arrived in Negropont has driven forth nearly the whole population of an island almost innocent of revolt; and the capture of Psarà by the Capudan Pasha has expatriated all who survived the ruins of their country.

XI.

Hydra, March, 1824.

On a rock, so utterly barren and hopeless of vegetation, that even in this, the season of greenness, I can scarcely discover, on its whole surface, one speck of verdure, rises in dazzling whiteness and beauty this singularly-interesting city. "What a place you have chosen,—(I addressed myself to Tombazi, late Admiral of the Greek fleet,)—What a spot you have chosen for your country!" "It was Liberty that chose the spot, not we," was the patriot's instant reply; and long may Liberty preserve and protect a habitation so worthy of her.

The harbour, from the abrupt sides and bottom of which the town starts up theatrically, is neither spacious nor secure. It is, in fact, a deep bay, situated on the western side of the island, and still open to the west, having no nearer protection from that quarter than the opposite coast of the Morea, which may be four or five miles distant. Against an enemy, the entrance is secured by two or three well-constructed batteries, which are now in extremely good condition: but the guns mounted

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there are neither formidable in number or calibre; and there is neither chain or boom to prevent the introduction of fire-ships by any enemy sufficiently enterprising to employ them. The Hydriotes are themselves as fully sensible of their deficiencies as any of their European advisers; but they continue to excuse their improvidence by their increasing contempt for the stupidity of an enemy whom they suppose immutable.

There are besides two other ports on the same side of the island, at a short distance; the one on the north, the other on the south of the city, in which most of the ships of war are laid up during the winter, and to many of the rest very secure anchorage is afforded by the neighbouring and dependent island of Poros. All these three ports are, I am assured, superior to that on which the city stands; at any rate, they very amply supply its imperfections.

The city, like the opulence which has created it, has sprung up during the last thirty years, and climbs, with great boldness and splendour, from the water's edge up to the very summits of the surrounding rocks. It is built of stone, and the taste which has constructed many of the principal houses would not disgrace the best parts in any metropolis; and, it may be added, that some of them are furnished with great costliness and elegance. The streets are narrow and irregular,

partly from the nature of the ground, and partly, of course, from orientalism. To the latter cause, we may also attribute the filth which disfigures some of them, though in a much less degree than is usual in the East.

All kinds of provisions are received either from the other islands, or the opposite continent, and a vast number of boats and small craft are constantly employed in the transport of them. Does it not appear singular, that the Turkish fleet should never have attempted the blockade of so populous a place, so entirely dependent on the sea for every necessary? The risk would have been too great. In a strait so narrow, as that which separates Hydra from the Morea, the fatal fire-ships, the great bugbear of the Ottoman navy, would have found too many opportunities for action.

The population of Hydra is estimated (perhaps with justice) at forty thousand souls. They are Albanians exclusively; and I think it probable, that, notwithstanding the vicinity of the Morea, not a dozen Greek families are to be found resident in the island. I should except some Sciote and Aivaliote refugees, who are, by the way, the only mendicants in the place.

Albanian is, of course, the language used in their intercourse with each other; the men generally, perhaps universally, can converse in Greek;

but there are many of the wives and daughters of these Hellenes (for they too will sometimes assume the title of regeneration,) who are entire strangers to the language of Greece.

The great cause of this rarity of sojourners in a place entirely mercantile, is the extreme clannishness of the natives; and this jealousy is extended to all foreigners without exception. It is no *Albanian* suspiciousness, or dislike of what is Greek: I am not aware that any such prejudice exists. It is a feeling purely *Hydriote*, and operates nearly equally against all the world: and, in fact, if there be any people whom the Hydriotes hate as a people, it is their brother Albanians and neighbours, the Spezziotes and Crenidiotes.

Neither could I ever learn, on the other hand, that the Greeks entertain any general prejudice against the Albanian character. There are, indeed, many mercenaries of that nation, who, during their service in Greece, have plundered the peasantry, in connexion probably with the native soldiers, and on whom the entire odium has naturally fallen; but even this applies chiefly to those born on the shores of the Adriatic. Against Albanian families or villages established in Greece, I can perceive no such antipathy. An Albanian commanded the Greek fleet during the first year of the war, and was succeeded in his command by an Albanian. To the brother of the former admiral, the Cretans

voluntarily confided the government of their island; and the two persons at the head of the present administration in the Morea are Albanians*.

And yet there would seem to exist some strong characteristic distinctions between those two people; as far, at least, as I am able to judge from a very short acquaintance with the Psarians and the Hydriotes, who are perhaps the best models of either character. Vivacity, levity, vanity, attract and amuse you in the former, and are well contrasted by the sedateness, pride, almost insolence of the latter. The Greek has more wit, and cleverness, and ingenuity; the Albanian has probably the advantage in sense and judgment: and, if the one be more brilliant, the other is, perhaps, more honest†.

There may, too, exist a similar opposition in the nature of their crimes. Those of the Greek will be of a lighter and less decided character: they will possess more of versatility and chicanery, and

* It is a singular fact, that since the late unfortunate destruction of Psará by the Capudan Pasha, the whole of the fleet, which is misnamed Greek, and on which repose the best hopes of Greek independence, is Albanian.

† Lest I should be supposed to intend this very hasty sketch as a perfect comparison between these distinguished islanders, (a comparison which would thus appear too partial to the Hydriotes,) I must add, that some of the most daring and successful exploits, which have done honour to the Revolution, have been performed by the hands of Psarians.

roguery; less of straight-forward, downright villany.

However, whether such differences in character exist or no, a strong distinction in manners is immediately observable, and this is entirely in favour of the Greek, whose natural, and often attentive politeness, is strongly contrasted with the sulky and repulsive reserve of the Albanian.

I have not seen in any country so uniformly well-dressed a population as that of Hydra; I speak of the men only, for the gaiety of the women, whatever it may be, is pretty strictly confined to their own apartments. There is no where the slightest appearance of distress, or even poverty; nor yet is there any commercial bustle, or show of industry or activity; much less is there any parade or demonstration of war. The people are peaceably chatting in the bazars, and eating with their caviar the whitest bread in the world,—a nation of gentlemen, enjoying the united blessings of opulence and tranquillity!

In fact, the *people* of Hydra have yet suffered none even of the ordinary miseries of war. The sailors have been at various periods a great deal employed, and (as we shall presently perceive) enormously paid. They have shared the plunder of several valuable prizes; and in the whole succession of sanguinary victories which they are imagined to have obtained over the Turks since the

commencement of the Revolution, I do conscientiously believe that not twenty Hydriotes have perished.

The government of the island is vested in the hands of six Primates, who are sustained in the exercise of their duty by the authority of the other merchants; but their united weight, being devoid of all physical support, is insufficient to oppose any very general mutiny of the sailors, who may be five or six thousand in number, and are prepared on such occasions to proceed to any extremity. It was thus, in fact, that Hydra was first engaged in the present Revolution. Immediately after the first explosion at Patras, Spezzia declared her independence; the example of Spezzia was very soon followed by Psarà, but the Primates of Hydra still hesitated; they were much more opulent than their neighbours, and therefore risked much more by the throw when every thing was staked. The sailors, on the other hand, who had been unemployed since the preceding October, when Conduriotti, and the other merchants, called in their vessels, were enchanted by the fair prospect of service and profit which was opened to them by the insurrection: they became clamorous for liberty and religion, and, on the further hesitation of the merchants, they proceeded to goad and flog them into independence. The favour which they thus conferred on these gentlemen, (however ungrate-

fully conferred,) was no doubt precious and substantial; and, as a slight return for it, they instantly obliged them to distribute among their liberators a gratuity of about * 150,000 dollars! Such was the horizon through which the glorious sun of freedom first broke upon Hydra.

And here I may remark, that if extreme gratification be sometimes afforded by a near and personal observation of the animated scenes of revolution, it must also be confessed that the spectacle is productive of very frequent pain and disappointment to any one disposed to think favourably of human nature. When we contemplate the work from afar, we perceive not how many bad feelings, and bad actions, how much jealousy, selfishness, avarice, fraud, and injustice, is heaped together in its composition. In the distant edifice we see nothing but majesty, till we examine the details of its vulgar materials, and the ill-shaped and ill-joined masses of which it is constructed. I mean not to apply this remark particularly to the Greek Revolution; it is true, no doubt, in a greater or less degree, of all the most splendid enterprises consecrated by history; only their deformities have been concealed or forgotten in their grandeur or success.

* The whole number of the mob was about five thousand, and they extorted the sum of 50 beshleeks, or 250 piastres, each; seven or eight piastres, at that time, went to a dollar.

At the head of the revolutionary sedition just mentioned, was one Capitan Antonio, a man of no great repute in Hydra. We may readily believe that the Primates were not well disposed to pardon his offence, nor yet had they power, even after the tumult was appeased, to punish him either openly, or on the scene of his criminality; but having procured his removal, on some pretence, to the Morea, they sent after him persons to assassinate him there.

A still more singular proof of the weakness of the Hydriote Government, because it proves that weakness habitual, is the toleration of a body of notorious and professed assassins, who dwell in seeming security in the very bosom of the city. They may be ten or twelve in number, and I have been assured that the Government is unable to put them down. But their existence, we are told as a consolation, is not productive of any very extensive evil, because, owing to the continual intermarriage of the Hydriotes, the number of surviving relatives eager to avenge the murder of their kinsmen, renders the chance of impunity extremely small for the murderer. However this may be, it is very difficult not to entertain the suspicion that these assassins are in fact the machines of Government, which, in the absence of a public and legal executive force, is obliged to have recourse to this

most contemptible substitute. At least, it is difficult to understand how a corps of professional murderers can exist in any governed country, without the connivance of its rulers; and it is quite certain that no government would ever connive at their existence, except with the intention occasionally to profit by it.

As individuals and as merchants, the leading persons at Hydra are extremely and deservedly respected; and, in my short intercourse with them, I have seen no proof of that repulsive inhospitality with which I have sometimes heard them charged. I have even been more fortunate in escaping any insult from the lower classes, for from them, at least, I had been always taught to expect insult as a matter of course; the populace of Hydra is notoriously lawless and intractable. However, Greeks at last, with all their national vanity, often do each other great injustice. In this singular land, every man's country is his own city, or his own mountain, or his own rock; and to these his mere patriotism, as separated from his interest, is almost entirely confined; and he appears even to detest every thing beyond them. Islanders abuse Moraites, and Moraites calumniate Islanders, while many districts in the Morea, and many isles in the Egean, have their several subdivisions of animosity. So that if these people are severally worse than they

represent themselves, we are often consoled to find their neighbours very much better than we had been instructed to expect.

Some of the merchants, notwithstanding the sacrifices which the Revolution has extorted from them, are still supposed to possess very considerable capital, though to what amount, where placed, or how at this moment employed, I cannot learn with any certainty. Much is probably afloat in Frank bottoms, and engaged in the corn-trade with Alexandria or the Black Sea.

Lazzari Conduriotti is the first person in the island, a man of high and irreproachable character. It is unfortunate for Greece that he has never yet taken any part in the management of public affairs; the union of a few such men would give a stability to the Central Government which it will scarcely otherwise acquire. But his continual residence in his native island is, unhappily, so necessary for the regulation of its affairs, that he cannot be spared to direct the general administration of his country. I believe, too, that the same cause has operated in many other parts of Greece to prevent the represented town, or district, from electing its ablest citizen as its representative. In the present unsettled state of the country, every little local government is so feeble and vacillating as to demand, for its own immediate support, the presence of whoever may happen to possess the greatest

local authority. Let us trust that the day is not far distant when these "village Hampdens" shall step forth from their present obscurity, and exhibit their wisdom and integrity in a field which, thus far, has not been much distinguished by either of those qualities. For the absence, however, of Lazzari Conduriotti from this ample stadium, much atonement is made by the exertions of his brother, who has been very lately called to the head of the executive body.

I am sorry to be obliged to believe that the advantages of education are as yet extremely under-valued at Hydra. Among the higher classes, indeed, some few young men are sent to study in Italy; and many others, whom commercial speculations may have established for a time in more civilized lands, have not lost that opportunity to instruct and inform themselves; but the improvement of the lower orders is miserably neglected; and to this cause, chiefly, we may attribute the selfish and illiberal spirit by which they are characterized, their disposition to riot and disorder, and that unmeaning pride and insolence of demeanour, which is so generally the companion of ignorance.

With a view of diffusing some little political information, a journal called the "Friend of the Law," is to be established here in a few days, under the patronage of the Primates and principal

merchants. It promises, from its prospectus, to be a good constitutional paper, implacably hostile to military authority and the despotism of the Capitani.

Prince Maurocordato took refuge in Hydra after his brutal expulsion from the Morea by Colocotroni, and remained here till he sailed for Misolonghi in December last. Every one speaks well of him, and there are some who profess to consider him "the only hope of Greece." Of the organization and consolidation of Greece, it is, I fear, but too true that our hopes do mainly repose on him.

XII.

Hydra. March, 1824.

Let me now attempt to give some account of the celebrated Greek navy, whose exploits, real and imaginary, have filled us all with so much admiration for the last two or three years. I have the more pleasure in touching on this subject, because the fleet forms by far the most respectable portion of the insurgent force, and because it has hitherto had no share in those transactions which have most deeply disgraced the Revolution.

Every one is acquainted with the causes to which this fleet is indebted for its existence; nor is it less generally known that the vessels are without exception the private property of the different merchants of the three islands; there is not, in fact, in the whole Archipelago one government ship. I have beheld too much of the real nature of this singular contest to retain much disposition to enthusiasm; but when I recollect the floating masses which I have lately left at Constantinople, and in the Dardanelles,—when I recollect the magnitude and resources of the Turkish empire, its ports, its forests, and its opulence,—and when I behold a

few individuals, the inhabitants of three naked rocks, whose several cities * do not nearly equal the area of the mere Seraglio of the Sultan, animated by a variety of feelings, of which some at least are honourable, in support of a cause whose purity is unassailable,—when I see these daring islanders successfully bid defiance to their gigantic enemy, and even defeat in open sea his unwieldly force, I will not attempt to qualify the admiration which is extorted from me by so singular a combination of genius and audacity.

The Greek vessels are almost exclusively brigs, mounting from eight to twenty guns; not above two or three corvettes are usually to be found in their largest fleets, and those are little more formidable than their companions. Every expedition is attended by a certain number of fire-ships, in which the entire hope of every offensive operation appears to be placed.

The largest number that ever has been mustered was from a hundred and twelve to a hundred and sixteen sail, in the first year of the Insurrection. The Hydriotes usually compose about two-fifths of the united fleet, the Psarians and Spezziotes forming the remainder, in the proportion, perhaps, of three to two; and such is nearly the proportion of the population of the three Islands. The Admiral, or

* The Serai and its appendages cover a space of ground exactly equal to that occupied by the entire city of Vienna.

commanding Captain, (for as the Greek navy is entirely a private establishment, there is no distinction of titles, nor any permanent rank, nor any authority, derived even from seniority,) is a Hydriote, nominated, probably, by the Primates of that island, who consult in their election the wishes of the people. The officer who had the honour of commanding the first Grecian fleet which presented itself for the liberation of the Egean Sea, and whose success prepared the way for the triumphs which have followed, was Jacomáki Tomhazi, a person of high distinction and zealous patriotism. He was succeeded in 1822, by Andréa Meouli, who still retains the command. For the singular popularity which he enjoys among his compatriots, Captain Andréa (so his sailors always familiarly call him) is perhaps not more indebted to his great natural talents than to his mild and unaffected manners and demeanour, and his reputation of inviolable integrity. Brave, modest, and disposed to silence, yet frank and unsuspicious in communication, he possesses nothing of the Greek, either in appearance or character; and his want of parade and brilliancy is amply compensated by qualities which are at this moment of infinitely more service to his country. * Of genius there is abundance in

* A very ingenious Greek once gave me his opinion that "no foreigner could be of any service to the cause who was not a madman;" meaning, I suppose, that he ought to sacrifice every

every cottage of Greece, but there is a dearth of sound common sense, of cool dispassionate judgment, of thought and foresight, which has occasioned, and will still continue to occasion, many disasters. Acuteness, vivacity, ingenuity, obtrude themselves upon you at every step; but I know not where to search for wisdom.

The merchants of the three naval islands, on whom has fallen mainly the whole expense of equipping the fleet, were compelled to make enormous sacrifices during the first year of the Insurrection,—partly from the vast number of vessels which it was at first thought necessary to employ, and partly from the very high pay which the sailors appear to have demanded; from ten even to fifteen dollars a month, were the wages usually received by

interest, personal and national, to that which he volunteered to support, and of course insinuating that nothing would drive any man to make such a sacrifice, except madness; and in fact, I have often perceived that the people most disposed to ridicule and despise practical Phil-hellenism, are the very Greeks for whose benefit (fruitlessly, I allow) it has been exerted.

I cannot, however, agree with my clever friend, that the cause of Greece would be materially assisted by any fresh importation of madness, from whatever market. I am even inclined to believe that there is at present no great scarcity of that article. A supply, indeed, of political virtue, of disinterested patriotism, of upright integrity, honour, and honesty, might not be superfluous: but these are commodities which the Greeks, unhappily, must be left to manufacture for themselves.

them. However, in 1822 the pay was fixed at fifty Greek piastres (five dollars) a month, and still remains at that rate. The number of ships in commission was also reduced to nearly one half; and in 1823 a still smaller squadron was found sufficient to foil the efforts of a hundred and four sail of Turkish ships of war. Indeed the entire number of vessels which the Hydriotes sent to sea last year was first, fifteen sail for one month only, to collect the taxes in the Archipelago, which was found to be extremely difficult without the presence of an armed force. Next, on the return of the Capitan Pacha from Patras, twenty vessels were equipped for two months, till the return of the Pacha to the Dardanelles; and afterwards a small squadron was despatched, in conjunction with the Spezziotes, to the relief of Misolonghi, of which the expense was nearly covered by a donation or loan of Lord Byron.

The entire monthly expense of each vessel is estimated on an average at 800 dollars; so that the total disbursement of the Hydriotes for the last year may be reckoned at something under 50,000 dollars. Now the contributions of the smaller islands, which were devoted exclusively to the maintenance of the fleet, amounted to about 26,000 dollars; and that of the Morea, for the same purpose, to 12,000; total 38,000; of which

Hydra may have received 17,000: so that her entire naval expenditure for last year may be calculated at about 30,000 dollars.

Now this sum does not very much exceed the amount of her former contributions to the Turkish Government. The mere haratch indeed exceeded not the trifling sum of five or six hundred dollars. But this island alone was also obliged to maintain three hundred sailors for the use of the Turkish navy; and their expense, on the supposition that they were kept on foot for six months, at the rate of eight, nine, or ten dollars a month, which I understand to have been the case, was not less than 16,000 dollars annually. Add to this the usual presents to Turkish officers, and the occasional extortions every where attendant on Ottoman domination, and the whole amount will not be less than 20,000 dollars.

Thus it would appear, that the repose which is enjoyed "under the shadow of the Sublime Porte," is almost as expensive as the independence which is defended against its "omnipotence." We must not forget, however, that the establishment of that independence required more exertion and more sacrifices; and when we consider that the commerce, from which alone proceeded all the means of sacrifice, has been now for three years nearly extinct, we shall be disposed to agree, that the honour and prosperity which will be the pro-

bable consequence of the present contest, will not have been unpaid for, or unmerited.

I have been anxious for some information respecting the discipline of this redoubtable navy,—respecting the regulations which are observed in the conduct of each vessel separately, and of the whole fleet generally, when united in actual service; and I am not without fears, that the account which I am enabled to give, will appear absolutely incredible to those who believe every thing to depend on marked distinction of rank, and strictness, if not severity, of discipline.

In a Greek fleet, there appears to exist neither any gradation of rank, nor any sort of discipline whatsoever. An admiral does indeed exercise the nominal command, but with very slight means of *enforcing* his orders, even on board his own vessel. All the rest is pure democracy. Every sailor is made acquainted with the object of every expedition, and generally forms, and sometimes offers, his own particular opinion, as to the best

* I was once in company, at Hydra, with the popular Meouli, when he was detained half an hour on the beach, waiting for his own boat's crew, who were drinking at a neighbouring tavern; and when they at last arrived, quite unconscious of any irregularity, the good admiral privately confessed that they had made their appearance sooner than he expected.

In the want of force, every point must be carried by management and address,—a system of command for which the Greek character is peculiarly adapted.

means of accomplishing it. And, were it not that every individual is animated with the most violent hatred against the commom enemy, and is strongly sensible of the advantages of unanimity, I can perceive no tie by which a fleet so constituted could be held together for an hour. Indeed, I have heard a frequent complaint, that the admiral, at the moment of some important operation, has often made at day-break the melancholy discovery, that many of his squadron have deserted him in the night; some, perhaps, on a visit to their families at home, and others in pursuit of some private scheme of profit or plunder. The sight of a fine flock of sheep, grazing on a neighbouring shore, has been known not unfrequently to seduce from obedience the least disorderly among the Hellenic mariners.

It is for these and similar reasons, that the Greeks, notwithstanding their occasional successes, have, in fact, lost many excellent opportunities of action: nor do I believe that they could keep the sea for a week against any naval enemy, except a Turk or an Austrian.

On board their vessels separately, the only attempt at subordination which I have ever perceived or heard of is at meals, and I know not whether this be not an invention peculiar to Hydriote pride. The captain dines alone, and the mate, (the nostr' uomo, who acts as lieutenant,) also munches his beans and caviar in solitude. Next

in respect are four of the elder sailors, who generally stand at the helm, and who also have a separate table. These five, if we like, we may call officers, and, indeed, the mate is often a kinsman or connexion of the captain, and has, therefore, some claim to that title. Again, the common sailors have a subdivision of messes, regulated, I believe, according to their age, and observed with scrupulous severity.

Now, though I cannot learn that any soul on board (except the captain, who is generally owner,) possesses any acknowledged authority over any other, yet I am still persuaded that the above culinary distinctions act in some measure as a substitute for real gradation of rank, and are of use in the introduction of some sort of discipline. At any rate, they contain the rudiments of a system, which, under better circumstances, will probably be brought to considerable perfection; for the Greeks possess all the materials for an excellent navy; and, in some of the most useful qualities of sailors, as adroitness, activity, ingenuity, they are individually inferior to no seamen in the world.

The first step towards the accomplishment of this object must, of course, be the establishment of a national fleet; but, for this purpose, some years of peace, and some stability of government, are unfortunately necessary.

XIII.

Napoli di Romania, March, 1824.

I FIND myself here in the focus of a civil war, and though it be merely one of those passing evils incidental to every Revolution, I will enter into a few details respecting its origin. They will throw some light, perhaps, on the permanent character of the insurrection, and the future hopes of Greece.

Greeks, under the Ottoman yoke, were either brigands or slaves. To submit to every insult, or to defy every law, was the terrible alternative. The insurrection broke out; and, in the confusion attending its commencement, it was natural that those accustomed to riot and disorder should assume the command over those whose habit had been obedience.

The leader of the *Klephtic* or Robber party, was Theodore Colocotrono. Descended from a race of noble bandits, he had obtained some personal honour in his hereditary profession, before his admission into the English service; and, in the interval, during a residence of some months (or years) at Zante, he had exercised with success the trade of

a butcher. He was called to the Morea very early in the Revolution. A fortunate engagement in the neighbourhood of Tripolizza established his military character, and the plunder of that city in October, 1821, provided him with the most effectual means of supporting that character.

The party properly Klephtic gradually acquired many adherents in the Morea, and several distinguished persons who had never practised brigandage became associated with it; some from mere love of military license, many from their connexion with the family of their chief, and many from ambition and avarice. These, united, formed the party of the Capitani, in which more indefinite and sonorous name, its Klephtic origin was merged and forgotten. Petro Bey, Deliyánni, and others, obtained some estimation and authority; but Colocotroni was still the idol; and, during the first year of the insurrection, he possessed, in spite of the *name* of Ypsilanti, almost unlimited influence in the Morea.

In the mean time, Alexander Maurocordato and Theodore Negris were respectively exerting their pacific talents at Misolonghi and Sálona, to give shape and consistency to the chaos of Revolution. In the winter of 1821, at the invitation of Ypsilanti, and under the auspices of Maurocordato, the whole political talent of Greece assembled at

Piáda*; and, early in the spring following, came forth the constitution, misnamed the "Law of Epidaurus." Maurocordato was appointed President of the Executive, and enjoyed, for some months, in name and in reality, the principal authority in Greece.

Two causes are mentioned as having contributed to diminish his influence. The first was his premature attack on the power of the Capitani, in the person of Odysseus, which that artful partizan had the address to avert; and the second was, his assumption of the military character, and departure for Misolonghi. His absence from the Morea enabled Negris, and others of his own party, to intrigue against him with success.

On the other hand, the Capitani gathered strength from this disunion; and their complete triumph over the invading army of Dramali Pasha in the ensuing August, put them for the moment into the real possession of their former power.

But the constitution, though darkened, was not

* Piáda is beautifully situated on the shore of Argolis, nearly opposite to Egina, and a few miles distant from Epidaurus. Ill built and ill provided, it still offered more resources to the Congress than any neighbouring town, and was therefore selected to be the birth-place of the Greek constitution. But the first act of that classical body was to defraud Piáda of the honour which it had merited, and to affix to their "Law," the more ancient and historical name of Epidaurus.

extinguished; and, in the spring of 1823, it made a fresh effort at the celebrated Congress of Astros.

A few alterations were, on this occasion, introduced into the body of the constitution, and it is rather singular, that they were of a tendency decidedly anti-military. But the Capitani overlooked or despised such trivial operations, in their anxiety for more obvious and substantial advantages. They filled four out of five places in the *Executive* with members of their own party; and, believing that they had thus acquired the impunity to violate (perhaps destroy) the entire system, they felt little interested about the details of its conformation. The violent expulsion of Maurocordato from the Morea was one of the many acts of lawless tyranny which disgraced the reign of this rapacious ministry; and, at last, the very privacy of the Legislative Body, assembled at Argos, was violated by the son and soldiers of Colocotroni, and the archives seized and carried *away. Matters were now brought to a crisis. The majority of the Legislative transferred their sittings to Crenidi, a town of Argolis, on the gulf of Napoli; and, having previously summoned and de-

* They were recovered the same evening by a Government Capitano named Zacharopulo, a convivial person, who had the address to intoxicate with impunity the principal officers of the other party, and then to rob them of their spoil.

posed * Petro Bey, Soteri Charalambi, and Andréa Metaxa, members of the late executive, they filled the vacant seats by a †Hydriote, a Spezziote, and a Romeliote; the minority, consisting chiefly of Moraite members, retired to Tripolizza, the residence of Colocotroni, and the other ex-ministers.

The main support of the constitution now rested on the Islanders; and, most fortunately for Greece, their interests coincided with their duty. Upon them had fallen the principal expenses of the war, and the Morea had not contributed its quota to defray them. The deficit in the Moraite contribution was occasioned by the private extortions or embezzlements of the military, and, *therefore*, (would that I could honestly assign a more honourable motive,) the Islanders proclaimed their hostility to the Capitani.

The desire of possessing the beautiful fortress, under whose shadow I am writing, was another stimulus to their cupidity. Napoli, on its evacuation by the Turks, had been occupied by the Moraite soldiers, and Panos, the eldest son of Colocotroni, assumed, under the title of Phrourarch, the most absolute authority.

* Colocotroni had voluntarily resigned, some months before this time. Zaimi, the fifth member, though a captain, is a constitutionalist.

† Condourriotti, Boutasi, and Coletti. Boutasi, as well as Theodore Negris, is said to have lately died of a fever at Napoli.

Much negotiation had already taken place, and the cession of the fortress had been frequently and vainly demanded. At length, the "*Crenidiotes" determined to commence hostilities, and reduce it to submission by blockade.

I was, at that moment, at Hydra, anxious to return to Napoli, where I had left most of my papers and property; but a strict embargo was already laid on every boat in port. Under these circumstances, Admiral Meouli, who was on the point of sailing to blockade the place, offered me a passage in his own ship, and promised to find the means of sending me on shore. I accepted the proposal with gratitude. At three, P.M., on the 18th instant, we anchored at "the Mills," (Myli,) about six miles distant from the city; and, on the very same evening, I had an opportunity of crossing the gulf, and was allowed, without difficulty, to land at Napoli.

* The term by which the Constitutionalists were contemptuously called by the other party.

XIV.

Napoli di Romania, March, 1824.

THE situation of Nauplium (Ναύπλιον, for so it is still written, and sometimes pronounced) is worthy of its heroic antiquity; nor do I recollect, indeed, any where to have beheld a scene of more imposing grandeur than that which surrounds you, as you trace the little sheep-track running along the sea-shore at the foot of the Palamedes. That noble rock, crowned by its *impregnable fortress, overhangs you on one side, while the long and irregular gulf, opening into the distant Egean, dashes up its spray on the other. Beyond the gulf are the bold and broken mountains of Lacedæmon, carelessly scattered along the shore; and, from behind them, the broad and snowy head of Taygetus rises, as from a plain, in dreary but unrivalled magnificence. This narrow and solitary path may some day be the Academus of Napoli,—the school

* It is true, indeed, that the Greeks surprised the Palamedes one stormy night shortly before the surrender of Napoli. Not, however, till they had well ascertained, that it had been already abandoned by the enemy.

where the children of free and regenerate Greece will lament the miseries, or venerate the daring patriotism, of their *Fathers*, while the spectacle of the distant mountains will fill them with the perpetual recollection of the most virtuous of their *Ancestors*. They will compare the exploits of the one and of the other,—they will compare the causes in which they bled, the enemies over whom they triumphed; they will find a similarity in them all; and, when History shall have thrown its mellowing tints over the deformities of this Revolution, they will bestow the same admiration on the modern, as on the ancient, liberators of their country, and unite the names of Niketas and Leonidas in their songs and their festivals.

When Greece shall be independent and united, under whatsoever form of government, Napoli will, I doubt not, be selected for its capital. The vicinity of this city to the luxuriant plain of Argos on the one side, and to the commercial islands of the Archipelago on the other, its unassailable strength, and the security of its port, mark it out distinctly for the capital of a mercantile country; and such must Greece be, if it intend to be any thing. I can perceive no other objection to it than the large marsh which extends from the head of the gulf for two or three miles inland, and which renders the situation, at certain seasons, very unwholesome; but this evil will be rapidly removed, as soon as ever

Greek industry and enterprise shall be directed by a vigorous and intelligent Government. The *city, as having been inhabited exclusively by Turks, is by far the best built in Greece; the greater part of it has escaped the injuries of war, and the fortifications appear not to have sustained any damage. There may be seven or eight thousand people now living here; but the city, if the ruined portion shall be skilfully reconstructed, will easily contain double that number. Some improvements have already been made on the Marina; and, while philanthropic foreigners are establishing (or threatening to establish) schools, presses, and laboratories, in every corner of the country, this lively and unscholastic people has already erected, for its own civilization, an excellent Café aux billards.

I should be sorry to appear paradoxical; but I am not at all certain, that the path which the Greeks have chosen for themselves is not surer and shorter than that by which their foreign friends would conduct them. Greeks, I fear, must be *Europeanized* before they can be civilized,—they must adopt our manners, before they will imitate our customs,—they must dress, ride, sit, eat, play, like us, before they will seriously emulate our studies or our instructions. Introduce a taste for our *amusements*, and other tastes will gradually

* I could not learn that either the city or fortress contain any remains of antiquity.

follow; give them *Telemachus to read, and they will hereafter pore over Newton,—build them a theatre now, and in fifty years they will build hospitals for themselves.

I have frequently seen and conversed with the Phrourarch, Panos Colocotroni. He is a very young man, of most prepossessing manners and appearance, and of abundant talents. His perfect natural politeness makes amends for the indifference of his education. He speaks and reads Italian with tolerable facility, and in the midst of foreign and domestic war, in the latter of which, at least, he is playing a most distinguished part, he applies himself occasionally to the study of French. That the son of Theodore Colocotroni, a man who has been successively a robber, a butcher, a soldier, a partisan, and again a robber, should have many faults, is not at all surprising: that he has any virtue is our only marvel. For his reputed insolence and imperiousness, Capitan Panos is obliged perhaps to the circumstances under which he has passed the last three years of his disorderly life. His avarice may be hereditary or professional; for avarice is a distinctive quality in the character of all Capitani, and is believed to be the only passion of their chief, his father.

* I was surprised one day, on making a visit to Panos Colocotroni, to discover the young soldier earnestly engaged in the study of Telemachus.

It is painful to observe to what a dangerous extreme this passion often carries them. The very day before I arrived at Napoli, the soldiers had mutinied; and, in consequence of repeated refusals of their arrears of pay, had actually seized the Palamedes, and held it, in defiance of their commander, till he discharged the whole of his debt. The sum for which he risked the loss of his entire authority was at last only ten thousand piastres, (two hundred pounds,) and even for this, though believed to possess above a million piastres, he made application to his father at Tripolizza. His father referred the application to the few members of the Legislative who were residing, under the name of Government, in that city, and actually obliged *them* to advance the money. No one pities the sufferers; but all consider it an act of very fair retribution, that those who have seceded from the constitution, which it was their duty to protect, should pay the penalty of their apostacy.

One afternoon, I happened to pay my respects to Capitan Panos at some moment of particular interest. I found him surrounded by his divan of shaggy officers and soldiers, seated and standing, in every attitude, and loaded with arms: and, moving among them, as if for contrast, I perceived, with surprise, his very young and beautiful bride. Her light-hearted gaiety and gracefulness

infused a singular sort of animation into the gloomy assembly.

Another lady, of equal distinction, and more notoriety, assisted at this extraordinary council of war. Most people have heard of the "heroine" Bobolina; this important person was born at Hydra; but as her husband, to whose large property she has succeeded, was a native of Spezzia, her usual residence is in that island. She displayed much zeal in the beginning of the Revolution, and equipped several vessels for the naval service; she directed, too, her attention towards the Morea; she formed an early connexion with Colocotroni, and shared, if she be not much belied, no trifling proportion of the plunder of Tripolizza. She certainly entered that city a few days after its capture, while its streets were yet reeking with blood, in a kind of triumph, on horseback, astride, after the manner of Orientals and Amazons. Since that period, she has married her pretty daughter to Capitan Panos, thus strengthening her Continental influence; while old Colocotroni obtained by the connexion the support of a considerable party in Spezzia. Thus, then, is Bobolina, at the same time, an Islander and a *Capitana*.

Nothing is so dull and unpopular as truth: are we not educated in the flattering belief that heroines are a species distinctively valiant, generous,

and disinterested,—surpassingly beautiful, and of unfading youth? such ought to be the heroine Bobolina; and it is not without reluctance that I am brought to confess that this warlike lady, the Hippolyta of the nineteenth century, is old, unmannerly, ugly, fat, shapeless, and avaricious.

Some spirit of enterprise and speculation she most assuredly possesses, nor has she failed to turn it to very profitable use. Two mints have been established under her auspices, at Spezzia and Napoli; the rapid depreciation of the Turkish piastre, and the little intrinsic value of the last gold coinage, have opened a lucrative field for forgery; the coinage has been imitated by the Greeks with great success, and large quantities of it have been privately imported as Turkish money, into various parts of Asia. Similar attempts were made to imitate the Spanish dollar, but not with the same success; in weight, indeed, the forged seldom falls short of the real dollar; but the indifference of the execution makes them instantly distinguishable. In the mean time, this false coinage has obtained very little circulation among the *Greeks;* that pecuniary people throws far too keen a regard of scrutiny on a dollar or a machmoodie, to be easily deceived as to its genuineness or value; all, too, are aware of the fraud which it is attempted to impose upon them, and all are well

acquainted with its heroic authoress,—so well, that the very name which they always apply to a false coin, is the name of the lady to whose ingenuity they feel obliged for it; and *Bobolina*, if she be destined to any sort of immortality, will descend to posterity as a by-word.

There is yet one other *heroine, of whom justice and gallantry alike require me to say something: her name is Mandó; she is of the distinguished Mavroyeni family, and is an inhabitant (if not native) of Míconi. She maintained many soldiers at the siege of Tripolizza, and has contributed liberally and zealously towards the success of the contest. She has reaped the rewards of disinterestedness: a house which she possessed near

* I afterwards heard still another well-authenticated story of a heroine, but I am sorry to add that this lady was anonymous. A young Greek girl, it seems, of extravagant beauty, marched with her brethren, in male attire, against Yussuf Pasha and the Lalliotes; she was taken, and brought before the Pasha. Yussuf was struck by the appearance of his prisoner, and determined that so handsome a head should not be sent to Constantinople; he granted him life, and even ordered him admission among his own slaves. Here, however, whether from gratitude for the former favour, or disinclination to the latter, the young soldier discovered her sex; the Pasha, of course, became instantly enamoured; the captive was obdurate and inflexible, nor was it till after she had rejected many tempting but exceptionable overtures, that she was at last admitted to the vacant sofa of his fourth wife.

Napoli, and which contained much of her property, was very lately entered by a body of soldiers, plundered, and burnt; and all this was done, as far as I can learn, without any provocation, and with the most perfect impunity. She has now retired to Tripolizza, where her intimacy is said to be respectfully courted by Demetrius Ypsilanti. She is described to be a tall, thin, unattractive person, of about five-and-thirty*.

* I am sorry to be obliged to believe, that Panos Colcotroni has been lately killed in one of those civil broils, which continue to disgrace the Insurrection, and to damp the hopes and paralyze the exertions of the friends of Greece.—*2d Edition.*

XV.

Argos, March, 1824.

I DID not leave Napoli till obliged by the very near approach of a body of Government soldiers from Crenidi, who are to establish the blockade of the city by land. That by sea is sufficiently enforced by two brigs, a Hydriote and a Spezziote. I received, in both my visits to that place, great civilities from Capitan Panos; and I trust that, whatever course the Revolution may ultimately take, that young man will be permitted and instructed to direct his talents to the real benefit of his country. There can exist no possible reason why he should be involved in the ruin of his party, (for his party seems destined to ruin,) or even in the fate of his incorrigible father. Every thing may be hoped from the flexibility of youth, and the *Phrourarch of Napoli may hereafter draw his

* I have been surprised to observe how little real power, with all their insolence and parade of despotism, these Capitani possess over their subjects, in consequence entirely of their notorious avarice. Panos had offered me horses whenever I

honourable sword in defence of a constitutional monarchy.

"The Mills," before which the Admiral is stationed, have been lately fortified by Panos, and are defended by a sufficient force; and the country between Argos and the head of the gulf is occupied by the soldiers of Capitan Coliopulo, a very consequential gentleman, who possesses much influence in the neighbourhood of Caritena, and is suspected of some secret inclination towards the constitutional party. At the moment of my arrival here, I saw a few shots fired from the ships, and there seemed to be a little bustle on the shore, which lasted for five minutes. Presently news arrived that the Government had disembarked troops, and carried the Mills by storm. Not a soul was injured on either side. Most of the garrison are even said to have been straggling about the country in pursuit of plunder, at the moment of attack.

should choose to leave Napoli; but when I applied for them, it seemed as if there were but one horse in the whole city over which he had any influence. Its owner was brought before him, and it required a very long harangue, and a thousand threats, to induce him to engage to convey me as far as Argos; and when, at last, we left the hall together, the man asked me, whether I was to pay him for the horse, or Capitan Panos? I told him that I should pay him. "In that case," said he, "I am at your service."

Odysseus carries matters with a much higher hand at Athens.

Treachery, of course, had preconcerted the whole affair.

The present will prove, if I mistake not, the most innocent civil war on record. Scarcely a movement will be made, of which some intrigue shall not previously have secured the success. With abundance of negotiation, threats, promises, bribery, and perjury, there will happily be extremely little bloodshed. Greeks are any thing rather than hard fighters: indeed, they will never fight, if they can avoid it, except under the most favourable circumstances of position, numbers, or darkness. A few hundred marksmen defend one of those impenetrable passes, with which the country abounds, against a body of Turkish cavalry, who present themselves, stupidly rather than courageously, to be butchered and plundered. Any offensive movement is a surprise, generally nocturnal. I know no single instance, during the whole contest, of a *battle well disputed, on equal terms, on fair open ground, and in the face of day. Εν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλεσσον, is no longer the motto of Grecian heroism: "*dolus an virtus*" is discovered to be the securer principle.

The officer, commanding the Government troops

* The battle of Petta approaches most nearly to an exception; but that was fought by Germans, and lost by the treachery of Greeks. The battle of Carpenissi, in which the Greeks attacked, was a night action.

marching up from Crenidi, who may at most be five or six hundred in number, is named Iatráki; he gained some distinction at the siege of Tripolizza. Capitan Zacharopulo headed the party that took the Mills. Neither are persons of high character or military reputation.

I am detained here partly from the impossibility of obtaining horses, at any price, to proceed to Tripolizza; and partly, I think, from a little suspiciousness in the officers commanding here. That I should be travelling in this country, and at this moment, for mere amusement or curiosity, is, of course, quite incredible; and, in spite of all my efforts to produce the contrary belief, I am suspected, I fear, of Phil-hellenism. It is in vain that I cry out for antiquities, and buy the rubbish that is presented to me: the Capitani frown upon me, and clearly take me for an agent of some Greek Committee or Philanthropic Society. However, some letters which I am bearing from Panos Colocotroni to his father, will secure my departure for Tripolizza. A guard of soldiers is not said to be necessary, nor if it were, could I, under such circumstances, obtain one.

My host is a physician, a native of Corfù. He lives, with his wife and family, in wretched poverty, in a dark and dirty mud cottage, and is clothed with extravagant splendour. The history of his habiliments proves to be this. After having

been entirely stripped, in company with some unfortunate French and German Phil-hellenes, by a party of soldiers, he was driven by want to turn Capitano. He went to Athens, and commanded, during the first siege of the Acropolis, a body of thirty men, without possessing (to use his own words) thirty paras to pay them. Fortune, however, favoured his enterprise. The Turks made a sally; there was some skirmishing; and the Doctor had the enviable honour to kill the best-dressed Mussulman of the party. He stripped the slain, more majorum, and appropriating the greaves, helmet, and corset, decamped alone in the course of the following night, leaving his unpaid and hungry followers to their own discretion, or to the command of some other adventurer as unprincipled and as beggarly as himself.

As the Government troops are expected to take this place in a few days, and their indiscipline is extremely dreaded, the Argives have in general hidden their property, and carried up their flocks into the mountains. My poor host, among the rest, has buried under the earthen floor of his hut, the few articles of any value which remain to him; and stands prepared, within his bare mud walls, to encounter any storm of adversity.

The fortress, overlooking the town of Argos, is well situated, but entirely out of repair, and unprovided with cannon; and yet, in the famous

invasion of Dramali Pasha, in July, 1822, Demetrius Ypsilanti defended it for some days against the awkward efforts of the Turkish army. On this occasion, above two hundred shot were fired by the enemy, of which ten only struck any part of the building. It is very possible, that the delay occasioned by this operation, which is entirely due to the courage of Ypsilanti, prevented the temporary re-occupation of the Morea. The Greeks were panic-struck by the unusual rapidity of the attack, and were quite disposed to desert their leaders, and disperse among the mountains. The first check received by the enemy instantly revived their confidence; the Turks began to starve in the plains which had been already laid waste by the inhabitants, and no longer thought of advancing; while Niketas and Colocotroni, with an energy which will immortalize them, occupied the passes in their rear: it was better to perish by the sword than by famine, and the Mussulman rode into the passes, with his sabre in the sheath, and *his hands before his eyes*, the victim of destiny. A terrible carnage was committed with almost perfect *impunity; and, if the Greeks, from fear

* I possess a copy of a letter from Niketas to Odysseus, giving an account of this affair. He estimates the loss of the Turks at above four thousand five hundred, and that of his own soldiers at fifteen killed and wounded, and eight missing.

or neglect, had not left one road entirely unoccupied, by which most of the enemy escaped, the whole of the Ottoman army might have fallen on that spot. The name of the pass most fatal to the invader is Dervenaki: it lies on the principal road from Argos to Corinth.

XVI.

Tripolizza, March.

In my way to this place, I fell in with a party of peasants, who related to me with great animation the following story. A body of government troops had approached Tripolizza, and Colocotroni ordered his kinsman Niketas to march out against them; upon which that popular patriot exclaimed, "Send me out to the frontiers to repel the whole force of Turkey, and I am eager to obey; but against my own brothers I will not march!" On my arrival here not many hours afterwards, I learnt that Niketas *had* already marched "against his own brothers," and was pursuing them with zeal and rapidity *. However, the speech is still related with enthusiasm, in defiance of the fact, and may possibly be destined to survive it. The

* There are two Capitani named Niketas, and they were upon this occasion opposed. Colonel Stanhope tells us (on the authority, probably, of Papas Flesas) a very romantic story of their encounter, and very properly recommends it to the credulity of German committees, and the imagination of German dramatists. The least distinguished of the two is the brother of Papas Flesas; the other, Niketas Tlamatelopulo, is the most valiant, the most active, and the *poorest* of the capitani.

Greeks are full of the *vive la gloire* principle; they find it much easier to admire than to practise what is noble and disinterested; and when they shall be reformed and purified into a nation, they will most resemble, among the ancients, the Athenian people, and among moderns, the French.

This city presents not at all the scene of entire devastation which the stories of its capture would lead us to expect. Some quarters, indeed, have suffered severely, but the main body and centre of the town, and the principal public buildings, remain nearly uninjured. The extensive Bazars, formerly occupied exclusively by Turks, are now as numerously attended, and as amply provided, by the industrious natives; and what they have lost in dignity and splendour, they have gained in bustle and activity. It is painful, however, to remark that the Bazar of the blacksmiths is that most frequented, and that the busiest traffic is in muskets, sabres, and attaghans.

I can pretend to give no estimate of the population; the circumference of the city, within the walls, may be about four miles; and the walls, though unable to resist the feeblest cannonade, may be considered, for this country, as tolerably efficient; all the gates are built up except three, where a few soldiers are negligently stationed. I find all the inhabitants, and not least the military part, extremely disposed to acts of attentive civi-

lity; and in fact, this is the only Greek town in which I have yet set foot, where I perceive a decided disposition to respect the European costume, rather than to ridicule and insult it. I mean not that I have been any where subject to absolute outrage, but there are a thousand little signs, short of outrage, which discover the disposition of a people towards the stranger who is carelessly mingling with them.

I am the more surprised at this exception, because the population here is purely Moraite; and I had been prepared at Athens, and in the islands, to expect in the Morea (should I dare to venture thither) nothing but villany, lawlessness, and brutality; and, in fact, I had some difficulty in prevailing upon an Æginetan servant to accompany me into this land of savages. My short experience induces me to believe that the * Moraites are at least as honest and as orderly as their brother Hellenes, and I mistake if they be not rather more civilized. The peasant of Attica, indeed, is proverbially respectable and inoffensive; but I perceive in the native Moraite soldier, drawn also from the peasantry of the country, an anxiety to oblige, expressed with such natural politeness as to contrast him most favourably with the surly vagabond adventurers who keep guard at the gates of

* I should, perhaps, except the Mainotes.

Athens, or the insolent and unmannerly sailor of Hydra or Spezzia.

I have learnt with sorrow, but without surprise, that the violent change of circumstances has produced a sad revolution in the morals of the female part of the population; but this, if it be a necessary, is happily only a temporary evil, and will disappear in the train of those calamitous events which have introduced it.

If the Greek cause has suffered much injury from the absurd exaggerations of those who have chosen to call themselves exclusively its friends, it has also great reason to complain of the calumnies of its enemies; and the massacre of Tripolizza has been the favourite theme of the latter. I have taken some pains to ascertain the truth of this affair, and a variety of information has led me to believe,—first, that the city was fairly taken by assault*, and that the Turks, after the enemy had entered, made a vigorous resistance in the streets and houses; next, that the Albanians, who were privately treating with the besiegers, though the conditions were not yet ratified when the place was taken, were nevertheless spared by the conquerors, and afterwards escorted out of the Morea in security; and lastly, that the carnage was not universal even among the Turks. We know that the whole of Hurshid Pasha's harem was pre-

* By surprise, I mean, not by capitulation.

served, and are assured that many women and children, who were at the time reduced to slavery have since found means to retire into a Mahometan country. Besides which, the Turkish population, at the moment of the assault, was not nearly so numerous as has been represented. An epidemic fever, which had already made great ravages, is believed to have reduced it to about fifteen thousand. That some studied cruelties, some ingenious devices of barbarity, were exercised upon the sufferers cannot, I fear, be denied; and herein Greek brutality imitates, however imperfectly, the character of French republicanism. A Turk is more manly in his rage; he is contented to be serious when he is savage; his fury seeks only the * death of its victims; he sees nothing *ridiculous* in the spectacle of human agony. In the midst of his wildest madness, reeking and steaming with blood, he is at least free from that horrible infusion of frivolity, which can extract amusement from massacre, and convert the real tragedy of revolutionary abominations into a fête or a farce.

I believe, that the only step which the Greek government has yet made towards the improvement of the people is the establishment of a Lan-

* Impalement is a legal punishment, and I have never heard that it has been inflicted except deliberately, and by order of some officer.

castrian school at Tripolizza. A mosque has been dedicated to that purpose; the present master was educated in the schools of Yassi and Bucharest, and appears a zealous and intelligent person. I was amused to perceive the youngest son of Colocotroni, a very fine boy, not more than ten or twelve years old, splendidly dressed and loaded with pistols and attaghans, strutting about the place, and imperiously directing his school-fellows, —as if to prove to them that arms must ever prevail over learning, and that the dominion of the capitani (like that of the Sultan) was hereditary and eternal!

I have presented myself three or four times at the levees of Colocotroni, and have received from him repeated assurances of his peculiar respect for the English nation, and his attachment to its individual members; and in fact, he immediately provided me with an excellent lodging which I could not otherwise have procured. These professions amuse me the more, as the old hypocrite is notoriously anti-Anglican, and is continually and publicly accusing the British Government of designs to occupy and enslave the Morea. His manners, however, to do him justice, are utterly devoid of urbanity, and, like his countenance and dress, are precisely those which best become a distinguished captain of banditti. His court seems to consist of about fifteen capitani, who seat themselves on the

sofa which lines three sides of his spacious hall; from the walls are suspended Turkish muskets curiously inlaid, with many valuable pistols and sabres. His capitani are as filthy a crew as I ever beheld, and for the most part ill-looking, and very meanly attired; but the most miserably starving wretch that I have observed among them, is a Papas, or priest, bonneted and bearded, but still military. The usual covering for their head is nothing more than the red cap of the country; but there are generally two or three of the party who think proper, from whatsoever feeling of vanity, to burden themselves with extremely large and shapeless turbans; Colocotroni takes little notice of any of them, and seldom rises at their entrance. The fourth side of the room is occupied by a number of soldiers, who remain standing; upon some occasion Colocotroni thought proper to command them to retire,—they obeyed reluctantly and slowly, and in a very few minutes returned in parties of two or three, and re-occupied their station. There is no smoking, nor any circulation of coffee or conversation. This singularly dull scene may last about twenty minutes, and then, on some signal from the Chief, the party rise and disperse.

Demetrius Ypsilanti is living here in perfect privacy; I have had some friendly communication with him, and believe him to be an honest, well-meaning, disinterested patriot; but he possesses,

unhappily, neither wealth, nor talents, nor mere physical power, sufficient to qualify him for any eminent situation civil or military, and the magic of his name is now very nearly passed away. Besides which, he has a violent personal jealousy of Maurocordato, which will prevent him, I fear, from any cordial co-operation with a person whose energies are proved by every collision to be so far superior to his own. It is, possibly, from this very discreditable motive that he allows himself to be made the occasional tool of the military party*.

Petro Bey is a fat, dull, well-looking personage, who is addicted to no particular class of political opinions, and appears peculiarly unenlightened by any sort of foreign information; he is understood to have made great progress (for an oriental) in the science of gastronomy, and is believed to be willing to embrace any form of government which will leave him riches, and give him peace, abundance, and security. It is then imagined that he would introduce French cookery among the Mainotes, as an excellent substitute for the indifferent potations of their Spartan ancestors.

* It should be mentioned, however, that this jealousy did not prevent him from making great exertions to relieve Missolonghi, when defended by his rival in the winter of 1822.

XVII.

Tripolizza, March, 1823.

THE Greeks in general discuss their present political condition (and what other subject is now interesting to any Greek?) with great freedom and good sense. They believe too that they are perfectly acquainted with their own interests, and that no foreigner can be equally so. They even speak with great moderation of the treatment (however discouraging and unexpected) which they have received from their fellow-christians beyond the Adriatic.

Austria has courted and secured their hatred; but, mixed with that hatred, common as it is to the breast of every Greek, I have frequently observed a strong feeling of contempt, which is not so easily accounted for.

The conduct of the French ships of war stationed in the Archipelago, is considered, with some exceptions, to have done them honour; but it would seem, that some persons, professing to be deputies from the knights of Malta, who have lately been intriguing at Hydra, with no very in-

telligible object, have excited great suspicions as to the disinterestedness of French Phil-hellenism.

As to England, notwithstanding occasional compliments with which I am flattered on the liberality of our institutions and sentiments, I cannot perceive any great desire to court our protection, or any great preference for our character. At present, indeed, we are in high favour with the constitutional party, from the increasing expectation of the success of the loan; but this is all. The only key to their affections is *the loan*. They ask neither for our counsels, nor our hospitals, nor our officers, nor our Lancastrian schools. They profess to need no aid that the world can afford them, except money. Every species of advantage and improvement is comprehended by them in that dear word.

The dread of poverty being removed, still are there two other evils which they deprecate with almost equal fervency,—Russian protection and Turkish domination. On these two points, there is no variation of opinion. They look back to the birth of their Revolution: they recollect that it was the hand of Russia which threw the first snake into the infant's cradle. There was something unnatural, (they say,) something of infanticide, in that act. They nourish the remembrance of it in the bottom of their hearts, and ages will not be long enough to efface it.

Again, the mere possibility of relapsing under the Ottoman yoke is ever treated with absolute derision. These heroes appear to think it less difficult for Greece to overthrow the throne of the Sultans, than for the Sultan to re-establish his crescent on the soil of Greece.

This confidence, which now amounts to absolute presumption, is the natural and almost necessary consequence of their circumstances. Unassisted, unprotected, against prudence, and almost against hope, they have now, for three years, continued to contend, with occasional success, against the mighty empire of which they had long formed a very insignificant portion. The being whom they had been instructed to dread and to obey, proves, on experience and collision, to possess energy, activity, talents, far inferior to themselves. Astonished at the discovery, they fly to the opposite extreme, and exchange their reverential terror for a contempt so excessive, as to be scarcely merited even by the Turkish government. I am sometimes disposed to fear, that this unlimited insolence of spirit will lead them into some reverse; and I am quite sure that any sudden increase of vigour on the part of the Turks exerted against an enemy perfectly unprepared for any such change, would prove, in the first instance successful; but in the first instance only. There is a happy elasticity in the Greek character, which would prevent per-

manent depression, and probably occasion a reaction upon the aggressor nearly proportionate to the violence of the aggression. The Greeks, after all, possess the capability of greater exertions than any which have yet been required of them. They possess energies which the blundering incapacity of the Turk has not yet called into action; and I have little doubt that on the appearance of any very imminent danger *from their present enemy*, they would discover resources sufficient to avert or dispel it.

I have been assured that there was a period in the Revolution when the Greek government was ready to have listened to very moderate terms of accommodation with Turkey, concluded under the mediation of the Allied Powers. If this be true, I am quite certain that that disposition is now nearly extinct, and I have some apprehension that it will not easily be revived. Absolute and unconditional independence must now be the basis of any treaty by whomsoever guaranteed. Any proposal, however advantageous, which rested not on that foundation, would meet, I think, with no serious attention.

On this point, I cannot help expressing my conviction, that the Greeks are rather guided by their vanity than the consideration of their real interest. The great cause of their actual success, and the only hope of their future greatness, is an active

application to commerce. There are already many who are suffering most severely from its present suspension, and whose sufferings will rapidly increase, as the contest shall be prolonged. Nor is this evil confined to the mercantile portion of the population,—primates, priests, artisans, and peasants, all, except the few Capitani who are profiting by the general confusion, unite in the clamorous cry for peace. But for how many years may not their clamours and their miseries be continued before the Grand Seignior shall be reduced to acknowledge the independence of Greece! Know they not, that the Turk is at least as obstinate as he is impotent, and that the very substitute for power in which he wraps himself is arrogance and haughtiness? From a Government, thus bloated, and nourished only by pride, do they expect a voluntary confession of its own imbecility? Or do they perceive a disposition in the Christian powers (in Austria, for instance, or in Russia?) to interfere with arms in their favour? For any expectation that they can, by *their own means*, extort such an acknowledgment, and march the * unpaid raggamuffins of Odysseus to the gates of Constantinople, is beneath our fidicule! Thus then they would

* In June, 1823, Gourta's soldiers mutinied for their arrears of pay, and made a secession to the temple of Theseus. Colonel Stanhope mentions a second mutiny for the same reason in the last spring.

seem to destine themselves to a long continuance of defensive warfare, which will become every succeeding year more irksome, more unpopular, and more dangerous.

I know not whether Fortune, who has most singularly befriended the Greeks throughout all the details of their Revolution, may have other and more essential favours in store for them,—whether she be secretly preparing any sudden change, moral, physical, or political, which shall put them in possession at the same time of peace and independence. For my own part, with circumstances simply as they now exist, I should not be sorry to see the quarrel arranged under European mediation, in any manner which secured their advantage, though it might offend their vanity; nor, if I could ensure for them the reality of independence, would I dispute very obstinately about the name: the thing once obtained, the name follows as a matter of course.

To be a little better understood, I will give a very short sketch of the kind of treaty, the conclusion of which might, I think, be affected by any tolerable union among the mediating powers, and of which the results would be entirely in favour of Greece,

1. The Greeks shall continue dependent on the Sublime Porte, paying a nominal tribute.

2. All Western Greece south of Arta, all East-

ern south of Thermopylæ, the Morea, and all the European Islands of the Archipelago, shall be left entirely to their own Government, nor shall any Turkish officer or soldier reside there on any pretext whatsoever.

3. Crete shall be retained by the Turks, (being, in fact, entirely in their possession.)

4. The Greeks shall trade with all Turkish ports, and shall enjoy the privileges of the most favoured European flags. Their commerce shall be placed under the protection of the ministers or consuls of the mediating powers.

5. The trade of the Black Sea shall be open to the Greeks, with the same privileges.

The flag, under which the Greeks should be allowed to trade in Turkish ports, though a question of apparent trifling importance, would probably create some difficulty and discussion. In fact, independent, the Hellenes would ill brook the protection of the Crescent. Nominally dependent, they would be expected to hoist the banner of their Suzerain Lord the Sultan. However, this point, from the analogy of the Barbary Powers, must also be conceded by the Porte.

6. The mediating powers shall guarantee the execution of the treaty.

Otherwise, the Turkish populace would murder the crew of the first Greek vessel that ventured to

enter their ports, and the Government would permit or encourage the repetition of such outrages.

I cannot help thinking that some such arrangement as the above is practicable, if the mediating powers could be brought sincerely to unite for its accomplishment. Its first effect would at least be honourable to all parties,—the termination of a miserable contest, marked by every species of horror and abomination, which is desolating one of the fairest countries under Heaven, and which reflects almost equal disgrace on the unhappy wretches who are engaged in it, and on the spectators, who possess, in unfeeling inactivity, the means to arrest it *.

* See Appendix, Art. 1.

XVIII.

Tripolizza, April, 1824.

WHEN the continental cabinets of Europe shall at last perceive, that there is no longer any prospect of the subjugation or extirpation of the insurgents; when they shall at last be brought to confess, that almost half a million of human beings whom they have allowed to be sacrificed in their presence, have poured forth their innocent blood in vain; and that the nerveless arm of the Sultan is unequal to the task of restoring the social order of his dominions,—then, perhaps will the philanthrophic president of the Holy Alliance and its pacific and social minister unite with the British Government in the easy effort of *obliging* the Sublime Porte to some sort of convention with its intractable rebels.

The nature and object of the convention will, I trust, be some such as that of which I have ventured to propose a sketch; and, in that case, my first and most ardent hopes with regard to Greece will be realized. She will be virtually independent, she will have leisure to improve her resources, to fortify her frontiers, to regulate her navy, to re-establish her commerce, and to double her popu-

lation; for it cannot be doubted that numbers of those Greeks, whom the treaty shall leave under the Turkish Government, will emigrate with their property, and settle among their autonomous brethren.

Flattering as may appear this prospect of rapid advancement to honour and happiness, one requisite only is necessary to secure it,—an honest and vigorous Government. But how to establish this Government? Here opens an immeasurable field, in which those who are fonder than myself of political speculation, may expatiate as widely as they will. I enter it with extreme diffidence, and shall escape from it as speedily as possible.

It is quite certain, that the great majority of the nation is at this moment in favour of a constitutional monarchy. But whom are they to select for their monarch? No Greek can ever be generally popular in Greece. Maurocordato is execrated by the Capitani; who, though they may soon cease to be powerful as a party, will ever possess much individual influence; and I know not whether even his warmest friends and admirers would go so far as to make him their king. Demetrius Ypsilanti has lost, by his want of energy, the confidence of all parties. His brother Alexander is considered an enthusiast, and Capo d'Istrias a foreigner and a Russian. The sceptre then seems destined to the hand of no native. This objection, however, does

not appear to diminish the general inclination to monarchy. Accustomed to the despotism of one, the Greeks have thus far gained very little by their change to polycracy; every hour are they suffering from the disunion and incurable contentiousness of their chiefs; and they therefore rest their only hope of organization and repose in the vigour and impartiality of a *foreign* king.

As to the wisdom of this disposition, it may be said, on the one hand, that nations are usually much better judges of their own internal situation, of their own wants, and the means of supplying them, than distant spectators, or travellers hastily traversing their country. On the other, that the exactions of the Capitani, the license of the soldiers, and the dangers of a lingering warfare, may have irritated the Greeks into a wish to embrace any sort of Government which shall promise to relieve their present torments; and that thus, in defiance of all existing thories, which would condemn them to the purest republicanism, they are hurrying blindfold into the arms of monarchy. Without venturing any decision on a matter of such importance, I will say a few words on the present state of parties, and the internal condition of the country.

The two great parties are, as usual, the Constitutional and the Military. The former would consolidate and organize the whole country; the latter would partition it, and reign severally the

despots of their own district. The primates, who were at first a good deal divided, perceiving, at length, that their own local influence is always usurped by the Capitani, are now generally uniting themselves to the other side, to which the expected success of the loan will give a decided superiority.

The Capitani, who affect to consider the negotiation of the loan as equivalent to the sale of the Morea, call themselves Anti-Anglicans; and, on that account only, are stigmatized by their adversaries with the name of Russians; for I cannot discover that there exists, in the whole country, any party really Russian, or (I may add) really English.

The chiefs of the Constitutionalists are accused of ambition; those of the Military are convicted of avarice. The more respectable party is, at any rate, distinguished by the nobler passion.

But even that more respectable party,—is it remarkable for honest and disinterested patriotism? for union among its members, for political wisdom, for practical knowledge, for any virtue or any talent which would qualify it, (even in case of the extinction of the Capitani,) to combine the varying interests, and direct the rising energies of Greece? I sadly fear that it is not. Among its leaders, some are primates, who have studied politics under Turkish masters; others are Constantinopolitans, instructed in the diplomacy of the

Fanal; others are full of European theories, but are ignorant of the wants of their country.

Some, again, are Romeliotes, who proclaim, among their rocks, the inutility of a naval force; others are islanders, who exclaim, with far more justice, that the whole hope of the country is placed in the navy; others are Moraites, who, posted in their impregnable passes, imagine themselves (in the absence of the enemy) independent of all assistance. Every one considers his own *place* (τόπος, he calls it) of paramount importance to every other, and that its particular interests should be chiefly or exclusively attended to. What then are we to expect from a Government so constituted? Expedients, temporization, contentiousness, imbecility.

After all that has been said and written on that most prolific subject, *Greek character*, we may at least be allowed to assume that the Greeks have *some* character,—that they have certain qualities which, from peculiar prevalence among them, may be called national; and among these it will not be disputed that one of the most distinguishing is a keen, active, suspicious jealousy. It is for this reason that we find them all at war with each other; that almost every man distrusts and detests his neighbour; and that a body of Greeks are less qualified for any act of cordial co-operation than a body of any other existing people.

And will those who admit their characteristic virtues and vices obtrude upon them a preparation of maxims and principles which are found to suit nations of an opposite character, or of no character? Because a Swiss or an American is discovered to be capable of enduring a republic, are we therefore to let loose into the same field the jealous, disorderly, and impatient Greek? I shall submit, till I am better informed, to the authority which teaches us that "Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their appetites; in proportion as their love of justice is above their rapacity," *&c. &c.*

If there be any truth in this principle, I cannot flatter myself that the Greek people is yet qualified for a democratic form of government.

Let us imagine them liberated from the fear of Turkish invasion,—a fear which, though no longer very pressing, still holds them in some little restraint; and let them be left to the arrangement of their own domestic affairs in the most perfect security; I should tremble lest their era of independence (be it perpetual!) should open with some terrible scene of civil discord; lest the conflicting opinions and feelings by which they are animated should break forth into uncontrollable contention, and the supposed variety of interests produce perpetual dissonance and convulsion. The Capitani would not omit so favourable an opportu-

nity to revive their right of oppression; Petro Bey would establish himself independent lord of Maina; Odysseus would usurp, with more address, the virtual sovereignty of Eastern Greece; Colocotroni and his satellites would increase the uproar, and profit by the confusion,—a confusion which would, probably, be worse confounded by a daily importation of theories, lectures, and exhortations, from the Phil-hellenic societies of the West.

Yet, even under these circumstances, there would be some sources of hope for this distracted country. Her peasantry is manly and intelligent, and, hitherto, uncorrupted; illiterate, indeed, and uninstructed, it might still be brought to understand the real interests of Greece, and be roused to support and enforce them. There are, too, some few honest men and skilful politicians already enlisted under the banners of patriotism; their numbers would be augmented by the addition of those now resident in Europe. But, above all, the circumstances of discord which now appear so very probable, might at last never come to pass, or speedily roll away; and no one will affect to doubt that it is eminently for the advantage of Greece *to govern herself, if she possess the power of self-government.*

Let me not, then, be misunderstood: I would on no account obtrude upon Greece a government to which she is disinclined; I would send her no

foreigner, as king or counsellor, except on her own repeated solicitation. My first wish, and that, I think, of every man who loves Greece better than his own fancies, is to behold her emancipated from the Turkish yoke, breathing in security, and reposing from her miseries. My next, is to see her rising to prosperity, under a *Greek* government. The former is of easy accomplishment; a single effort of sincere union between England and Russia, with Austria, (or without Austria) would be sufficient to effect it; but I have many fears respecting the practicability of the latter. A Greek monarchy, in the absence of any hereditary family, and of any individual of commanding pre-eminence, is of very difficult establishment. A Greek republic, in the dearth of almost every virtue on which *permanent* republicanism reposes, appears nearly impossible.

However, if Greece be disposed to risk the experiment, let no one interfere to prevent it: such interference would be contrary to every wise and just principle; but if the attempt should prove too arduous for her feeble and unassisted infancy, let her receive, on her own voluntary application, from some land of maturer polity, a virtuous prince, who, with the support of her excellent constitution, may conduct her to tranquillity and happiness.

XIX.

Zante, April, 1824.

I HAVE not visited Misolonghi; partly on account of the extremely repulsive nature of the place itself, and its entire destitution of any thing to interest the imagination or the memory, and partly because it has been lately so thronged with English and other Phil-hellenes, that the real condition of the province must be known to many, and might be known to all. The few particulars which I am enabled to give respecting it, were collected here and at Athens.

Western Greece embraces the district of Acarnania, Etolia, and part of Epirus; its northern limits are, of course, continually varying, according to the motions or repose of the Albanian enemy: the eastern extend to the neighbourhood of Salona; it being true that Arta and Prevesa on the one side, and Lepanto on the other, remain, and have continually remained, in the possession of the Turks.

This province was connected more closely than any other with the destinies of Ali Pasha, and may be said to have been the only sufferer by his

destruction. The first efforts of the victorious Ottoman were directed against it, and the summer of 1822, which seems to have decided the independence of the Morea, was marked in western Greece only by defeat and calamity. The battles of Placca and Petta were succeeded by the capitulation of Sulli, and the conquerors advanced to the walls of the capital.

Misolonghi is situated on low and marshy ground, some miles to the eastward of the mouth of the Achelous or Aspropotano; unprepared for attack, and almost without the means of defence, it reposed its hopes in the genius and courage of its defenders. For it has been the singular good fortune of that most unattractive city to be placed at different periods under the peculiar protection of four men, various in talents and character, but equally sincere and generous in their exertions for the liberation of Greece,—Alexander Maurocordato, Marco Bozzaris, General Normann, and Lord Byron. The two last, indeed, have fallen victims to their own zeal, or to the ingratitude of a pestilential climate; the prayers of the Suliote were more nearly accorded, for he fell by the hand of a Mussulman, in the moment of victory*. Prince Maurocordato is still preserved to the hopes

* Marco Bozzaris was killed at the battle of Carpenissi, in the August of 1823.

and vows of his country, and to the friendship of every friend of honest and practicable patriotism.

Misolonghi was saved; after an unsuccessful attack, the Albanians returned to their homes, and during the spring following the Greeks re-occupied the country as far as Vonitza; but about midsummer the enemy again advanced, and notwithstanding their loss at Carpenissi, (a loss more than compensated to them by the death of Bozzaris) they succeeded in again possessing themselves of the country, and penetrating to the capital.

It is true that they again retired, as innoxious as before; and so utterly are they uninstructed in the art of war, and so nearly unsusceptible of improvement, that any similar effort which they may hereafter make will, without any doubt, terminate in similar discomfiture. But if the city be in security, the country has been proved open to the annual occupation of the invader; and thus, strictly speaking, the province of Western Greece is confined to the walls of Misolonghi.

With respect to population, it is ever so very difficult, by the minutest personal inquiries, to arrive at any tolerable degree of certainty in any part of Greece, that I can speak with little confidence respecting that of a district which I have never visited, and which is subject to perpetual fluctuation. I am assured, that during the second siege nearly forty thousand souls were collected in the city, and that

this number comprehended the great majority of the villagers and mountaineers, who had fled to the only place of security. We may, then, calculate the whole population of the province at sixty thousand; and I am the more inclined to attach credit to this estimate, because my own inquiries in Attica respecting the physical force of Eastern Greece, led me very nearly to the same result. Many fugitives from both these districts are to be found, as soldiers or shepherds, in the cities or on the mountains of the Morea.

Of a province so situated, it would be absurd to discuss the revenues; indeed, it is too well known that the operations of its illustrious Governor have been continually restrained or prevented by extreme poverty,—poverty which he shares, indeed, with the most indigent of his countrymen, but which, however honourable to himself, is to them productive only of misery and helplessness.

I am not exactly aware of the extent of the advantages which Misolonghi has yet derived from the patronage of the "Greek Committee." The foundation of arsenals and hospitals is at least creditable to the zeal and humanity of the founders; and as long as they shall be supported by the liberality which has established them, they will ever be productive of some local utility. But the more pressing wants of Greece are, unfortunately, of a nature which is not affected by such institu-

tions. Money, indeed, will easily supply her external and physical necessities; and for that purpose (it cannot be repeated too often) *she asks no aid except money*; but there is a moral poverty besides, engendering vanity, jealousy, insubordination, ingratitude, attended by a certain reluctance even to benefit by proffered favours; there is a beggary of wisdom and probity, which can only be relieved by patient education and discipline, introduced and sustained by an efficient and honest government. I should be sorry to discourage the enthusiasm of any friends of Greece; yet let them not be surprised, should they discover that the practical advantages resulting from their honourable exertions have been very partial, and very disproportionate to the means employed to produce them.

The late establishment of two newspapers at Misolonghi is attributed to the zeal of Colonel Stanhope. The first is called the Hellenic Chronicle, and is decidedly republican; it is written in Greek; I was at Athens when the first number arrived there; Odysseus and Gourrah were thrown into consternation, and being themselves unable to comprehend its contents, they sent down to the city for some learned persons to interpret them. Publications addressed to persons incapable of understanding them, if they can be productive of no great utility, will at least do very little injury; and on this account, I believe the paper in question to

be nearly *harmless. The Greek Telegraph is a Polyglott, and as it is written with moderation, and contains rather more truth than is usually published respecting the affairs of Greece, its extensive circulation in Europe, if practicable, would probably prove beneficial to the cause; but sufficient means have not been adopted, I fear, to effect that object.

In spite of all that has been said and written to the contrary, I am of opinion that the personal service of foreigners in Greece is still, as it ever has been, entirely useless. Those who present themselves with arms and rules of discipline are despised and maltreated; their tactics are ridiculed, and themselves condemned to starvation. Those who import theories and principles ready cut and dried in the West, soon perceive, or ought to perceive, that their counsels are inapplicable to the state of the country, and impracticable. Those who would introduce schools, and laboratories, and hospitals, are considered to be innocent enthusiasts, who have sadly mistaken the *moment* for their exertions. The few who have brought money are

* Lord Byron, I find, was not of the same opinion. "I hope (says he) that the Press will succeed better there (at Athens) than it has here (at Misolonghi). The Greek newspaper has done great mischief both in the Morea and in the Islands, as I represented, both to Prince Maurocordato and to Colonel Stanhope, that it would do, in the *present* circumstances, unless *great caution* was observed."—*Stanhope's Greece*, p. 126.

allowed to spend it, indeed, but not without great jealousy and suspiciousness from the very persons who are devouring it as a spoil or a right*.

No one had better reason to feel and acknowledge this truth than the noble Phil-hellene whose untimely loss is more deeply deplored, than his services were properly appreciated. During the few months of his residence at Misolonghi what strange perversity and opposition did not even he encounter, from the people whom he was sustaining by his generosity, and † "among whom and for whom" he had resolved to lay down his life! Some thought that he aimed at the Monarchy of Greece, others that he was an agent of Government, charged to buy the country; and almost all were convinced that he had some private design which would hereafter develop itself. So difficult is it for any people to understand the nature, or credit the

* On the other hand, I am far from denying that if there be any distinguished *Greeks* resident in Europe, who are at the same time zealous patriots, practical statesmen, and honest men, their presence and cordial co-operation would confer very essential benefits on their country, but were are such Greeks to be found?

† A funeral oration was pronounced at Misolonghi, in honour of Lord Byron, by Spyridion Tricoupes, formerly (if I am rightly informed) Secretary to Lord Guilford. It contains these words, —Ἤλθεν, εἰς ἵνα λόγον, κατὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν εἰκιακῶν του, μὲ ἀπόφασιν ν᾽ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ♦

A part of the oration, which is of considerable length, will be found very literally translated in the Appendix.

existence, of virtues of which the practice is unknown to them.

Lord Byron for some time meditated an offensive operation against Lepanto, in which he intended personally to conduct the Suliotes whom he had taken into his pay, rather than his service. Arta was afterwards mentioned as better suited to the taste of his capricious mountaineers. Neither Arta nor * Lepanto were ever molested; the moment for action passed rapidly away, and his Lordship's wisest and noblest intentions were continually frustrated, by the impracticability and ingratitude of the objects of his exertions.

To another point his efforts were not less zealously directed. An endeavour to civilize, in some degree, the barbarous nature of the contest, and to introduce between the conflicting parties some sort of reciprocation of humane and generous offices; and here he seems to have encountered almost equal difficulties. On one occasion, he redeemed, at his own expense, a number of Turkish slaves, and restored them to liberty, addressing, at the same time, a very courteous letter to Yussuff Pacha. The Turk thanked him, and asked for a repetition of this favour.

* "The Suliotes declined marching against Lepanto, saying, 'that they would not fight against stone walls.' Colonel Stanhope also knows their conduct here, in other respects, lately N. B."—*Stanhope's Greece*, p. 121.

However, Lord Byron must have been too well acquainted with the character of both parties, to indulge any hope of the immediate reform of either. He continued, therefore, to tread, with abated ardour, perhaps, but with undeviating resolution, the path which his enthusiasm had marked out for him, and which might have conducted him to much honour, had it not terminated so abruptly and so lamentably.

XX.

Zante, April, 1824.

Before I take my last look at the snowy tops of Olenus and Erymanth, and bid adieu to the opposite Morea, with its mountains, peaks, and promontories, for ever, I will devote a few moments to a short description of the actual extent and force of the Hellenic Republic, and, by a comparison of its present state with its condition in the beginning of 1822, we shall best learn how far the Greeks are progressive, and how far we may look forward with confidence to their ultimate emancipation, by their own unassisted exertions.

In Western Greece, we have just seen that there exists, at this moment, no point of defence except Misolonghi. The whole country is open to the occupation of the enemy, and the Suliotes are rather disturbing than protecting the capital.

Two years ago, Suli was still in possession of its inhabitants; and a respectable corps of disciplined Phil-hellenes, under General Normann, were employed in the defence of the country: through the treachery or cowardice of the Greek soldiers, who were united with them, and who deserted

them in the instant of danger, these brave men perished. There is no visible set-off against these losses. The insurrection has not extended, and every fortress remains, as heretofore, in the hands of the Turks.

In Eastern Greece, the limits of independence have even been contracted. In 1822, the Eubœans and Olympians were in arms, and Odysseus was engaged in an offensive operation (however unsuccessful) against Zeitoun. At present, both Eubœa and Mount Olympus are perfectly tranquil, no offensive operations against Thessaly are even meditated, and the very passes of Thermopylæ, the farthest northern frontiers of Hellas, are not regularly defended. However, some compensation has been in this instance afforded by the reduction of the Acropolis of Athens.

The islands remain nearly as they were, with the exception of *Scio; the most wealthy and the most populous spot in Greece, which, if revolutionized at a more favourable moment, and protected by the union of the insurgents, might have become one of the most powerful members of the Republic, has been cut off and destroyed almost utterly. The other Asiatic islands, as Cos, Rhodes,

* That of Eubœa is so nearly connected with the interests of the continent, that I have considered it (I know not how correctly) as a part of Eastern Greece.

and Mitylene, where a considerable proportion of the population are Turks, still remain undisturbed, under the Turkish Government.

Of the five divisions of modern Hellas, which were published by the Government early in 1822, Crete alone was then deemed worthy to form one; indeed, the greater portion of the island was at that time in insurrection, and the Turks were nearly confined to the walls of their fortresses. Crete may now be considered as entirely lost: overwhelmed by the Egyptians of Mehemed Ali *, and broken by internal dissensions, even the hardiest of the insurgents are believed to confine their resistance to the defence of the mountain in the interior of the island. The rich and extensive plains, which constitute the real value of the country, have been re-occupied by the enemy †.

In the Morea, the very centre of insurrection,

* Ibrahim Pasha, who commands the present expedition against the Morea, is the only remaining son of Mehemed Ali. It is well known, that his brother Ismael, who commanded the expedition into Ethiopia was there assassinated; but the circumstances of his death are not of general notoriety; and they are so extremely interesting, that I will not lose this opportunity of making them public. For the Account, which will be found in the Appendix, I am obliged to the kindness of Lord Strangford.

† Since that period, I have learnt that even the Sphakiotes have been reduced to submission.

the Greeks have made no other visible progress during the last two years, than by the taking of Napoli. Navarino, Tripolizza, and *Corinth, were already in their hands; while Modon, Coron, and Patras, still continue in the power of the Turks, nor is there any appearance of preparation to molest them.

From this comparison, we perceive, that the insurgents, so far from having made the rapid progress which is ascribed to them by the flattery of their admirers, have actually *lost ground*; they have lost Scio, and whatever influence they possessed in Eubœa; they have lost every thing to the north of Thermopylæ; and last, and worst of all, they have lost Crete. The reduction of the Acropolis of Athens, and of Napoli di Romania, are the only substantial advantages which they can oppose to so considerable a diminution of territory†.

The internal condition of the country was at

* Corinth, which they afterwards lost to Dramali Pasha they have since retaken.

† The destruction of Psara, and the greater part of its fleet, and about a third of its population, may now be added to this melancholy list of misfortunes, ill compensated by successes, which, with somewhat of brilliancy, have been followed by no important military consequences. I am happy to have learnt, that the Greek Government has given the excellent harbour and fortress of Napoli di Malvasia to be a new home to the survivors.

least as promising in the commencement of 1822, as at this moment. The Government was the same, or nearly so, with this advantage, that Maurocordato was then at its head; the power of the Capitani was not then so clearly defined, nor their hostility to the constitution so decided; party and personal animosities were not then so general or so violent.

Are we then from these facts to conclude, that the hopes of Greece are suffering a gradual diminution, and decaying year by year? That the insurrection is less vigorous, because it is less extensive, and that a few more efforts would suffice to crush it altogether? I am very far removed from that opinion. A few extremities have indeed been lopped away, but the heart is grown stouter and warmer. By the loss of some parts of the Confederacy, the *population of the rest has been augmented and concentrated; and a spirit has grown up among them, which would render their extermination very difficult, and their submission

* I made every inquiry in every part of Greece respecting population, without ever arriving at any very satisfactory result, I am, however, strongly of opinion, that the whole number of actual insurgents is somewhat under one million. I should estimate the population of Eastern and Western Greece at one hundred and fifty thousand; that of the independent islands, including refugees, at two hundred and fifty thousand; and that of the Morea at half a million.

impossible. They have acquired the *habit* of independence; they have learned to despise and scorn their former master, and they have not ceased to detest him; in energy, in talents, in courage, they assert or feel their own superiority; and it is this feeling which, in spite of all their vices and their follies, preserves, and will still preserve them.

XXI.

Corfu, May, 1824.

THE enemies of British honour and prosperity, of whatever country or climate, believe themselves to be provided with an unfailing source of misrepresentation and calumny in the administration of the Ionian Islands. There exists not a political scribbler in France, Italy, Germany, or England, who does not feel justified in venting some unmeaning slander on a system of whose principles he is utterly ignorant, or on the character of the singular and excellent man who established that system. He, indeed, is now secure from all human hostility, but the spirit which animated the work of his erection is not extinct; it survives, and will long survive him, and the machine will continue to act with undiminished power, under the guidance of his distinguished friend and successor.

It is not, however, my intention to enter at this moment into any of the details of the Ionian Government. It is sufficient for me, at present, to rejoice at the emancipation of an improving and intelligent

people from the most pernicious * aristocracy that ever existed,—to observe the operation of the various

* The Ionian Government, under the Venetians, was an aristocracy within an aristocracy; pretty nearly as the late Government of Walachia and Moldavia was a despotism within a despotism. The object of both seems to have been to inflict on the governed the perfection of misery. I believe, however, after all, that the palm is due to the latter, and chiefly, for this reason: the Boyars, being a very tranquil and unlitigious sort of animal, conspired with great unanimity in promoting the object of the Government. Not so the Ionian nobility; they were Greeks, and so we find them divided and irritated by a thousand intrigues and jealousies. Hating their neighbours almost as much as they loved themselves, they were obliged to adopt some little moderation in the treatment of peasants, whose services were necessary in feuds and broils. Yet I fear that whatever the peasants thus gained in independence, they lost in morality; if the Walachian was more abject, the Ionian was much more wicked.

A number of Ionians, educated in the Venetian school, and unable to endure the severity of English discipline, are still to be found scattered over all parts of the Levant, and are notorious only for their pre-eminence in every description of disorder and iniquity.

Those who calumniate the present Ionian Government always assume, as an indisputable fact, its unpopularity; nothing is more false than this assumption. The great object to which the practice of that Government has been steadily directed, is the improvement of the *people*. The first step was to rescue them from the tyranny of their nobility; the next has been gradually to infuse a feeling of independence, and a confidence in the impartiality of the laws; when their character shall have thus acquired some firmness and stability, they will merit and receive an extension of their civil rights.

If the word popularity have any meaning whatever, the very

laws enacted *for that purpose*,—to see the peasant fearlessly face his former tyrant in the courts of Ionian justice, and to hear complaints of English despotism, and sighs after the mild administration of Russia, uttered only by those sad sufferers who have been deprived of the right of oppression, and the privilege of plunder. It is sufficient for me to perceive in the country and villages an increase of cultivation, convenience, and population; to be assured of the great diminution of crimes, and to observe the people rapidly progressive in wealth, morality, and civilization. Such, at least, are not among the usual consequences of misgovernment.

If the general conduct of the Ionian Government has been assailed with much virulence, it was not probable that its operations under the par-

outcry which has been raised by certain Ionians against their Government *proves* its popularity; for these persons being, almost without exception, connected with the first families in the Islands, and retaining all the insolence of aristocracy, without the power any longer to vent it on their subjects, cherish, no doubt with sincere regret, the recollection of the good old days of Venetian and Russian "liberty,"—for what was slavery to the people was to them liberty. Their vociferations, when we understand the cause of them, will no longer astonish us,—they are only the ravings of disarmed oppression; and we shall easily console ourselves for their censures by the reflection that the mass and multitude of the Ionian people have gained in independence and virtue, what these brawlers have lost in licentiousness and tyranny, and are enjoying their advantages deeply, though silently.

ticularly difficult circumstances in which it has 1821
been placed by the present war, should pass without reprehension. How much or how little justice has attended such censure, will be best ascertained, if I trace, as far as I am in possession of the facts, the line which it has professed to adopt, and examine with what fidelity it has pursued that line.

The first blood was shed in the Morea on the 4th of April, 1821; on the 9th of the same month appeared a proclamation addressed to all Ionian subjects *resident among the insurgents*, which informed them that any interference in the insurrection would be punished by the forfeiture of British protection. So very natural a measure requires no comment whatsoever.

On the 2d of May, Ali, the Capitan Bey, declared the Morea, some ports excepted, in a state of blockade; and on the 7th a proclamation was published at Corfu, acknowledging that blockade, and commanding the observation of it. No one, I believe, was surprised at this act except Petro Bey, of Maina, who was then "Commander of the Peloponnesian armies assembled at Calamata." That patriot ventured to express his feelings in a remonstrance, dated "May 12th, (24th,) First Year of Liberty."—"We observe (says he) with much "astonishment that the patriotic Ionian Govern- "ment should give effect to this proposition of "the Turks. For if we are to look upon it as an-

"act due to them as a national right, (as it would "appear from the nominal exception of ports ima- "gined by them to be under the Turkish domi- "nion) we shall fall under the unjust imputation, "of being engaged in an unlawful rebellion, which "is doubtless so understood in notifying a blockade "established under a false idea."

He concludes by inviting the Ionian Senate to re-consider the matter; but as his invitation was supported by no better reasoning * than such as I have quoted, we shall not wonder that it was ineffectual.

The act decisive of the policy of the Ionian Government was published on the 7th of June; it was a proclamation of *the strictest neutrality, expressed in the clearest and most unequivocal language.* This measure would seem at first sight to have been directed chiefly against the party to which the Ionians were most disposed to have offered their assistance. It will appear, however, that its effects were in practice equally felt by both parties; its principle was decidedly favourable to the Greeks. The very term *neutrality* acknow-

* A letter addressed by the Capudan Bey to the Lord High Commissioner, about the same time and on the same subject, rivals in reasoning the production of this Laconian adversary: —"The rebellion of the Greeks (says the loyal Mussulman) "being an atrocious act of anarchy, is hated by all the *nations* "which have a head or monarch, because all *kings* are averse "to rebels."

ledged them as Belligerents, and the same word which forbade our Ionian subjects to aid their insurgent brethren, prevented them equally from rendering any service to a power in amity with England, and involved in dangerous intestine warfare. The friendly Government and its rebellious subjects were regarded, by this public act, in precisely the same light; and no demonstration of favour was denied to the latter, which was not equally prohibited to the former. We shall presently see how far the system thus proclaimed was fairly and impartially enforced.

The first difficulty appears to have been created by the residence of the Suliote families in the Islands. It will be recollected that when Ali Pasha, in 1803, succeeded at length in obtaining possession of Suli, the surviving inhabitants retired to the Ionian Isles. On the rebellion of their persecutor, in 1820, he restored to them their native rocks and fortresses on the condition of their making common cause with him, against the Grand Seignior. The Suliotes accepted the proposal, and returned to their country, taking the precaution, however, to leave their wives and children for the present, in the asylum which their misfortunes had secured for them. Hourshid Pasha appears to have suffered severely from the assaults of these unrestrained warriors, and therefore despatched a letter to Sir Thomas Maitland, about the end of

June, warmly engaging him "Either to recall the "Suliotes into the Islands, and thus make them "British subjects, or to dismiss the women and "children to the Continent, that thus having no "further hope of refuge, they may return to their "allegiance to the Sublime Porte." Other similar demands, as well as applications for arms and ammunition, seem during this period to have been continually repeated by the Turkish officers, on the ground of "the inviolable friendship subsist-"ing between the Sublime Porte and the British "Government," and to have been, on almost every occasion, rejected by the Lord High Commissioner.

Very shortly afterwards, two acts of very flagrant violation of neutrality, on the part of Ionians, called again for the interference of the Government. Certain armed vessels (those of Dionysio Flocca and one Graniachiessi are mentioned) took part with the insurgents in open hostility against the Turks. *They were declared by proclamation guilty of piracy, and were threatened, in case of seizure, with the usual punishment of that offence.* A severe measure was at this moment obviously necessary, and that which was adopted cannot be charged with injustice. What milder name than *piracy* shall we apply to the crime of those who, in defiance of the orders of their Government, attacked, in open sea, the vessels of a friendly power?

The other act, of which I must relate the circumstances at greater length, inflicted an insult still more audacious on the commands of the Ionian authorities. Several natives of Zante and Cephalonia had passed over into the Morea at the beginning of the insurrection, and were notoriously in arms against the Ottoman Government. Hitherto, however, they had abstained from any public notification of their proceedings, and were, therefore, only liable to the penalty ordained by the proclamation of the 7th of April, namely, the forfeiture of British protection. Presently, inflamed, as it would seem, by such apparent leniency, their leaders addressed a formal summons of capitulation to the Lalliotes, against whom they were principally engaged. It was forwarded by the Lalliotes to Yussuf Pasha, at the castles of the Morea, who sent it, without loss of time, to Corfu. It began as follows:

"From us, *Chiefs of the Cephallonians and Zantiotes*, to you, the Noble Agas, and remaining Chiefs of the Lalliotes."

"According to the orders of the Grand General of the Greeks, Alexander Ypsilanti, who has conquered the whole of Walachia, Moldavia, and Constantinople, and the other parts of the Levant, we present ourselves here in the Morea, charged to offer you peace by treaty, such as the laws of

Europe prescribe, and we are even accompanied by one of his relatives. If you oppose this treaty, we are ready to give every succour and protection to your enemies the Moraites, so that they may destroy you with fire and sword; and for such purpose are we here, a thousand in number, with all the necessaries of war, and six cannon, *&c. &c.*

From our Head Quarters, June 1, 1824.

(Signed) "MICHEL IPSILANTI, *Constantinopolitan.*
C. METAXA. VANGELI PANA.
J. FOCCA. DIONYSIO SEMBRICO
ANDREA METAXA. PANAGIOTTI STRUSA.
MATTEO CONTUFA, *Interpreter and Secretary.*"

The Ionian Government was no sooner made acquainted with this impudent outrage on its authority, than it published a proclamation, summoning the six chiefs and their secretary to return within a fortnight to their country, to be tried for their offence, on pain of perpetual banishment and confiscation of property. All the Ionian subjects who had been seduced to follow them, were also commanded to return instantly to the bosom of their families. I am not aware that any one of the chiefs obeyed these summons; the sentence was, therefore, carried into effect against them all. The two Metaxas have, since that period, acquired some distinction in the service of the Greek republic. Constantine displayed great military talents and energy in the

defence of Anatolico, in the autumn of 1823; and Andrea was perhaps the ablest and most liberal member of the late anti-constitutional Executive; but the dislike to established government (or rather the personal enmity to the great organizer of Greece) which distinguishes them both, will probably prevent them from acquiring, in their adopted country, the estimation and property which they have for ever forfeited in their native island *.

To those who speculate, at their leisure, on the feelings and actions of others, it is an easy and agreeable employment to justify or excuse any extravagance of virtuous enthusiasm. For us, who are influenced in our impassioned judgments, by a thousand considerations of religion, liberty, patriotism, it is not difficult even to admire the conduct of the contumacious exiles,—it is, at least, impossible not to lament their fate. But those who write may yield to any feeling, while those who act must only think and reason. The hand of power must not be directed by passion or imagination. Governments "cannot afford to be chivalrous and romantic."

The following autumn was distinguished by more acts of insubordination among the restless Ionians. The Parganotes, who were some years ago ad-

* Cephallonia.

mitted to the privileges of Ionian citizenship, thought this moment favourable for the recovery of their country, and set sail in a body for that purpose, in defiance of the proclaimed neutrality. The Government, however, contented itself with prohibiting their return to the islands; and, as their attempt was defeated by the Turks, they were exposed, for the time, to considerable distress and danger.

Since that period, however, as the revolutionary ferment gradually abated, many of them have privately returned; and I believe that it would be difficult to produce one instance, in which refugees from the continent, of whatever name or description, when actually proved to be homeless and friendless, have been refused an asylum in the Ionian Islands.

About the same time, the island of Cerigo (Cythæra) became the scene of one of the most brutal transactions that has disgraced any Revolution; and the future Hellenist historian will perhaps find some consolation in being able to record, that the perpetrators of it were not Hellenes but Ionians.

The fortress of Napoli di Malvasia capitulated about the end of August to Prince Cantacuzeno, on condition that the garrison should be transported to some Turkish harbour. The capitulation was observed, and the neighbouring Cerigo

was allowed to serve as a kind of receptacle for the Turks, till they should be sent forward to Crete. Some had already arrived there, and, on the afternoon of one Saturday in September, a boat appeared on the north-east side of the island, (that most distant from the town and garrison), containing forty-one others. Of this number, *seven only* were men. A messenger was immediately despatched by them to the governor to request permission to land.

The inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of one of their numerous festivals,—a religious festival of course, and attended, as is usual among Greeks, with that light-hearted hilarity, which is generally not unfriendly to acts of humanity; though, in this case, it would appear, that the design, suggested by the mere helplessness of the Turks, was immediately formed, and embraced with no opposition. The Turkish messenger was detained, and, in due time, a fictitious order sent down for the instant disembarkation of the prisoners. It was now growing dark, on which account, or from some latent suspicion of the treachery that was intended them, the Turks were, with great difficulty, prevailed upon to land. At length, they obeyed, and moved along the seashore, a weak, melancholy, and defenceless train. But the moment for attack was not yet arrived. Openly to have assaulted seven unarmed Turks,

and so numerous an assemblage of women and children, would have been too hazardous an enterprise! These Greeks would have thought their design but imperfectly executed, unless, to perfidy and barbarity, they had superadded cowardice. They caused their victims to follow them among some rocks, from behind which they fired upon them. They intended, probably, by this discharge, to murder only the men; but, as the sun was already set, and the moon was not then shining with its usual oriental splendour, it is believed that some of the women fell also,—and happy were those women who so fell,—happy in their escape from the most brutal insults that lust and hatred* ever inflicted upon helpless misery. Their companions were allowed to survive them just long enough for the endurance of the worst outrage, and were then murdered without exception, and their bodies thrown into the sea.

So general was the conspiracy, even among the innocent inhabitants, to conceal from the English Government the abominable guilt of their countrymen, that three days actually elapsed before the Resident had any suspicion of the transaction,

* We cannot do justice to the barbarity of these ruffians, except we recollect that, not for ages having been subject to the despotism of the Turk, they are not at all sheltered by the excuses which are usually thrown over the cruelties of their continental brethren.

and it was then accidentally discovered from the conversation of some women to whom the secret had been intrusted. The soldiers sent down to the spot found that the ground, where most blood-stained, had been already ploughed up; but great quantities of hair, dyed of various colours, as is the custom of Turkish women, still lay scattered about, and tracked the road down to the beach from the scene of massacre. Some of the ring-leaders appear to have escaped to the Morea. Twelve persons were tried, of whom five only were executed. One of these was proved to have ravished a very young girl, and stabbed her immediately afterwards.

Nearly at the same time, a skirmish took place off the island of Zante, between the hostile fleets, in which a small Turkish vessel was driven on shore. A party of ten or twelve soldiers were sent, with an officer, to enforce the sanitary regulations, and to conduct the Turks to the Lazzaretto. In the mean time, a vast number of Greeks, all in arms, had collected from various parts of the island, and threatened to interfere with the soldiers in the discharge of their duty; they were ordered to fire* over the heads of the populace, and the latter, entirely misunderstanding this civilized

* This story is told two or three different ways, even at Zante. Some assure me, that the soldiers did not fire at all.

proceeding, returned the fire upon the soldiers. The officer was severely wounded, and one private killed; and the Greeks, having obtained possession of the body, mangled it horribly, transfixing the head with the bayonet, and exhibiting other proofs of insensate fury. The order was then issued to *disarm the inhabitants of *all the islands;* and such was the judgment and temperance with which this order was executed by Sir Frederick Adam, that at the moment of most angry irritation, during the very saturnalia of liberty, while every government was equally hateful to every Greek—the disarming of the entire population was effected without the loss of a single life, and, I may add, without the slightest attempt at resistance.

We may here be permitted to rejoice, that circumstances of lawlessness and sedition at last rendered necessary the execution of a measure, which would have been advisable under any circumstances. If it was the duty of an enlightened government to open to its subjects the paths of civilization, surely the first and most obvious step was to deprive them of the means of continual assassination. The means of performing the crime were a perpetual temptation to its performance. At every drunken broil, on every festival, swords,

* Santa Maura had been disarmed previously to the Revolution, in consequence of insurrectional disturbances, in which two or three British soldiers lost their lives.

daggers, knives, pistols, were instantly in the hands of all. Innumerable instruments of murder presented themselves, and were but too frequently employed. The only remedy for this evil was to remove the food by which it was nourished.

Almost the only permanent improvement which the French have left behind them in any of the countries they have occupied, is the great diminution of assassination in Italy. They deprived the Italian of his stiletto, and the loss of the weapon was soon succeeded by a change, first in habit, then in feelings and ideas. And is a stiletto more dangerous in an Italian hand than an attaghan in the grasp of a Greek? Is the latter more patient, more considerate, more placable, more merciful than the former? Surely there is every reason why a people, the most restless, perhaps, and disorderly in existence, should at length lose the power of converting every scene of riotous intemperance into a field of bloodshed and murder; and, if I were here disposed to venture any censure on the conduct of the Ionian Government, it would be an expression of wonder, that a measure of such obvious utility had not been more speedily adopted.

XXII.

Corfu, May, 1824.

THE state of irritation into which the Ionians were naturally thrown by the vicinity of the hostile fleets made it necessary to issue a *proclamation, which *excluded the ships of both parties from anchorage in the Ionian ports.* In spite of this notification, a Turkish fleet not long afterwards came to anchor in the harbour of Zante. Their excuse was, a violent gale, which might perhaps have proved dangerous to such unskilful mariners. The moment, however, that the wind abated, they were obliged to quit the port, and encounter the Greek squadron which was waiting for them. In a letter †shortly afterwards addressed to the Ionian Government, the Greek Admiral, Andrea Meouli, acknowledges, with some gratitude, an act demonstrative of the sincerity of our neutrality, and calls it "a measure which he expected from English

* This proclamation was dated the 29th of October. All communication was at the same time strictly forbidden between the islanders and the ships of either squadron.

† Dated, March 8—20, 1822.

philanthropy." In the May following, a single armed vessel, belonging to Yussuff Pasha, entered the same harbour, and was immediately obliged to depart. Yussuff, a man of great courage and talents, appears not to have clearly comprehended the justice of that policy, by which the English excluded from their harbours the vessels of a friendly power; a power who had given them no pretext for complaint, and to whom they were making continual professions of attachment; engaged too, as that power was, in a dangerous conflict with its rebellious subjects, and thus standing peculiarly in need of the assistance of its friends. He wrote to the Resident at Zante, (Sir Frederick Stoven,) to complain of the little hospitality with which his vessel had been received; and was merely answered, that no armed vessel *of either party* is allowed to remain above twelve hours in the harbour of Zante.

Our enemies, both at home and abroad, have dared to assert, that, during the earlier part of the Revolution, the English Government so far favoured the Turks, that British sailors, and even officers, were encouraged to combat under the banners of the Infidel. A more gratuitous falsehood never fell from the lips of calumny. We shall judge of the spirit of the Ionian Government, (and then surely we see the reflection of the wishes

of the British cabinet,) from one or two facts which I am about to relate.

A Turkish fleet, under Ali Capudan Bey, which had been employed against Ali Pasha, was at anchor in a port on the Albanian coast, opposite the island of Corfu, when the insurrection broke out. Having been informed that it contained several European sailors, and among them, I believe, one Englishman, Sir T. Maitland wrote, in June, 1821, to the Capudan Bey, *to demand the liberation of all the Frank sailors* on board his fleet. The Capudan Bey answered, that they were embarked before the rebellion, with the knowledge and consent of their respective ambassadors at Constantinople, but that, as *circumstances now stood, there was justice in His Excellency's demand; and he gave his "word of honour," that as soon as he should receive reinforcements, he would dismiss them all. At present, his fleet was so ill equipped, that he could not even put to sea without their services. The English sailor appears to have been already discharged.

Again, in January, 1822, the Egyptian frigate or corvette, Asia, after being prevented from anchoring at Corfu, took refuge in the neighbouring

* They had been engaged to sail against a Mahometan enemy; they must now be employed (if at all employed) against Christians.

port of Murto. Having learnt that there were twelve English sailors among the crew, Sir T. Maitland *instantly demanded their liberation.* The captain answered, "that though the men entered voluntarily at Trieste, at very high wages,—though he had already discharged six others, who had entreated him for that favour,—and though his crew were so weak as scarcely to allow him to navigate the ship,—he would still not refuse them to the demands of His Excellency." The men were immediately landed; and, subsequently, on a second application from the Lord High Commissioner, some Austrian subjects also obtained their discharge.

To these facts, I shall only add, that I had last year an opportunity of ascertaining at Constantinople, that the Turkish expedition of 1823, among many Italian, Ragusan, and Illyrian sailors, contained *not one* Englishman.

Any comment on such facts would only weaken the conviction which they must inspire into every mind which prejudice has not already rendered impregnable to truth.

The vicinity of the islands to the scene of warfare, presented the Government with occasional opportunities to mitigate the unusual horrors which attended it, and it will be seen that they were not neglected. At the taking of Tripolizza, in October, 1821, the Harem of Hourshid Pasha, amount-

ing (together with those of two of his officers) to eighty-eight persons, fell into the hands of the insurgents. A negotiation for the ransom of these unhappy prisoners was immediately set on foot, and conducted, under the patronage of the Lord High Commissioner, to a successful * conclusion; and early in the following spring, the captives were restored to a generous husband, whose various letters, written during the negotiation, are full of very civilized expressions of affection and † tenderness.

Sir T. Maitland was soon afterwards the means

* I am surprised to perceive, that, in Mr. Blaquiere's book on the Greek Revolution, (p. 103,) some credit is given to the Greeks for their generosity in liberating this Harem, "for about sixty thousand, Spanish dollars." Now the fact is, (and there exist documents to prove the fact,) that the whole sum received by the Greeks was precisely one hundred and twenty thousand dollars; that of this enormous sum, eighty thousand only were paid into the treasury; and that the other forty thousand were distributed, by a private article in the negotiation, among the principal Greeks who conducted it, and who thus, defrauded their country out of one-third of the ransom. A very slight challenge would suffice to induce me to publish the names of all the officers engaged in that nefarious transaction, and the amount of the sums received by each, though there be one name among them for which I am still disposed to entertain considerable respect. It is right to add, that Prince Maurocordato was at Misolonghi at that period, and had no share whatever in this disgraceful affair.

† His wives were four in number: Esmeh, Hagitza, Fatima, and Aissi. Esmeh was obviously the favourite, as she had

of effecting the liberation of some Greek prisoners; and the letter of acknowledgment which he received upon this occasion from the Greek Government is so honourable to both parties, that I shall be excused for publishing it entire.

To Sir T. MAITLAND, &c. &c.

Corinth, 17—29 *May*, 1822.

"The Greek Government would not willingly omit an opportunity to do justice to an act of philanthropy. You deserve its gratitude by your mediation, which has restored to liberty certain unhappy men, betrayed by the fortune of war, and who were languishing in the dungeons of slavery.

"The exchange of prisoners is loudly demanded by the laws of humanity, and it is the strongest desire of our hearts to see your Excellency continue to second by your interposition that act so worthy of you. It is with particular satisfaction, that we testify our sentiments of gratitude to the man of virtue who makes it his duty to succour his fellow-creatures, and to the statesman who

twenty slaves for her own personal service. The others had only five, six, and seven respectively. There were, besides, twenty-one servants belonging to the Pasha's own establishment. Some Beys, and their suites, whom Hourshid wished to have included in the treaty, were made, by the Greeks, the subject of a separate negotiation.

makes use of his influence for the support of humanity.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER MAUROCORDATO.
ATHANASIUS CANACARY.
ANAGNOSTES DELIAYANOPULOS.
JOANNES LOGOTHETES.
ORLANDOS (absent.)"

Posterity will not fail to do justice to the character of a singularly virtuous and *upright man, who has been made, at various periods, the object of much base misrepresentation, and many miserable slanders.

We must return for a moment to our friends the Suliotes, whom we left in possession of their native country, engaged, in alliance with their ancient enemy, in active hostility with the Turks. After the death of Ali Pasha, in February, 1822, Hourshid Pasha directed most of his forces against the Suliotes; they resisted, however, with courage and success till the defeat, first of Marco Bozzaris at Placca, and immediately afterwards of General Normann at †Petta, rendered hopeless the continuance of the struggle. They therefore proposed to evacuate the country by capitulation, and retire

* It is, perhaps, right to add that my personal acquaintance with Sir T. Maitland was extremely slight, and that I was never under any obligation to him whatsoever.

† These took place respectively on the 6th and 16th of July, 1822.

once more to their old asylum in the Ionian Isles. The Turks, glad at any rate to be rid of their most obstinate enemies, did not object to the proposal, and the consent of the Ionian Government was requested by both parties. It was granted without difficulty, and the Chanticleer brig of war was even despatched to Fanari, to superintend the embarkation. According to the very honourable capitulation which had been granted to their bravery, the Suliotes marched down, eighteen hundred in number, with all their arms, and thirteen Turkish hostages. The castle was not to be delivered up until the boats, which were to be provided at the expense of the Turks, should be actually arrived; and the stores found in the castle were also to be paid for by the conqueror. Some little delays, raised by Omer Pasha in executing one of these conditions, was removed by the presence and interference of Captain Eden, and the Suliotes once more took breath, and hope, and courage, under the protection of British generosity.

This event took place in September, 1822, and in the following spring these restless mountaineers, impatient of repose and security while tumult and danger could be found so near them, again crossed over to the Continent, and have remained ever since in Acarnania. Suli continues in the possession of the Turks.

XXIII.

Corfu, May, 1824.

Our neutrality has been occasionally violated by both parties; a situation so near the scene of so much lawlessness rendered some insult quite unavoidable; much, however, has not been offered, and none has been overlooked. I shall content myself with giving two or three instances.

Early in the spring of 1822, an Algerine schooner, forming part of the Turkish fleet, took by force, from on board an Ionian boat, three or four Moraite families, consisting of twenty-seven or twenty-eight persons, and possessing a considerable sum of money in jewels and Spanish dollars. The pirate carried them first to Alexandria, where our excellent Consul, Mr. Lee, made some ineffectual efforts to obtain their deliverance. The circumstances were soon made known to Sir Thomas Maitland, and he lost not a moment in requesting Captain Hamilton of the Cambrian to sail in pursuit of them. That officer is never tardy or indifferent when an act of humanity is to be performed, or an act of injustice to be chastised. He found the offender in the neighbourhood of Scio,

in the midst of the Turkish fleet. The barbarian, surrounded as he was by his brother ruffians, made some hesitation in parting with his spoil, and relinquished it only on the application of a * threat, which admitted, he well knew, of easy and certain execution. The astonished captives were transferred, with their property, to the Cambrian, and restored to life and liberty.

About a year afterwards, a Moraite, seized also on board an Ionian boat, was carried by the Turks to Prevesa, and there immediately executed. This flagrant insult on the British flag was made the subject of immediate and energetic remonstrance, by Sir Frederick Adam, (in the absence of Sir Thomas Maitland) to the Turkish officers in Albania; and when the Capudan Pasha arrived at Patras in the June following, the General thought it not too much to demand reparation in person †. Reparation was instantly promised, with the usual

* I tell this story as I have been in the habit of hearing it told in the Levant, where Captain Hamilton is as popular as meritorious. More than once I have heard Greeks, in their private conversations, unite the names of Hamilton and Nelson.

† The Pasha arrived at Patras with some very wild notions respecting the right of blockade, which it was also necessary to correct, as well as to demand the restoration of a number of Ionian craft, which he had seized, either before his blockade was proclaimed, or before the proclamation could be at all generally known. The General was accompanied by Sir Graham Moore.

politeness and facility,—but whether with more than the usual sincerity of a Pasha, I am unable to say. Whether, however, the offenders have in this instance been actually punished or no, such serious notice has been taken of the offence, that we shall not speedily be outraged by the repetition of it.

The transaction to which I next proceed, is of more importance, both as affecting the character of the insurgent navy, and as having been thought worthy of mention in the British House of Commons.

It appears (by information officially communicated to the Ionian Government), that on the 10th of December, 1823, a Greek fleet, consisting of seventeen sail, were seen off Ithaca, firing on a Turkish brig which they had nearly surrounded, and which shortly afterwards was driven on shore to the southward of the island. On the Turkish brig striking on the rocks, numerous armed boats from the Greek fleet instantly pushed off for the purpose of plundering the vessel, which they soon effected, murdering all the wounded they found on board. But not content with this, they afterwards landed in pursuit of those unfortunate Turks who had survived the fire of their ships, and swam on shore for safety. They overtook some of the fugitives, among whom was an officer of rank, and

the captain of the vessel; and having killed and plundered them, vented the abundance of their fury on their lifeless bodies*. Of course, the Commandant of the Island, assisted by the officers of police and a military guard, came as soon as possible to the spot, and succeeded in saving nearly fifty out of seventy-five Turks, who composed the crew of the vessel.

On receiving intelligence of this event, Sir Thomas Maitland published a proclamation placing the two islands thus violated under a quarantine of thirty days with the other islands. Nor did he fail to remark, at the same time, with severity and justice, on the conduct of the aggressors in this affair. The only exceptionable part of the proclamation is that which describes the outrage to have been committed by "some Greek armed "vessels, seemingly under the command of a per-

* "The bodies on the shore were mangled, pounded, cut up! Under the eye of the Captain of the port, a Greek killed a man, then took out his knife, ripped up his body, severed his heart, cut up his limbs in every direction, and then, putting his knife into his mouth, walked down to the shore exultingly. The bodies on the deck of the Turkish vessel seemed to be trampled,—not on, but into,—for the mere pleasure of the thing!" Such is the description written at the time, and from the scene of slaughter.

Two days afterwards, the Island of Santa Maura was violated in the same spirit, though not with the same circumstances of barbarity.

"son * styling himself Prince Maurocordato." I am surprised that the justice of Sir Thomas Maitland did not perceive that no part of the odium of an act which, however atrocious, was obviously unpremeditated, could possibly attach to a person of notorious humanity, who was on board rather as passenger than commander, and possessed, in fact, no direct influence whatever on any operation of the Greek navy.

The Prince, in a letter immediately addressed to the Lord High Commissioner, contents himself with remarking on the injustice of condemning a nation for the actions of its individuals, and enclosing the Greek official account of the affair of Ithaca, requests that it may be published in the Corfu Gazette. By this account, it would appear, that as the Greek boats were rowing up to take possession of their deserted prize, the Turks from the shore fired upon them, and actually killed two Spezziote sailors, whose names are mentioned. If this be true, the first violation was committed by the Turks; and though even this supposition will fail to justify, it will go very far in excuse of, the retaliation on the enemy. But whatever faith we may, on this point, be disposed to place in Hellenic veracity, we are obliged to believe that the *manner*

* The words in the Italian copy are simply, "Di una persona chiamata P. M."—And in the Greek, "ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου καλουμένου Πρ. Μ."

of retaliation was such as the horror of impartial spectators has depicted it.

The Greeks, in imitation of more civilized Belligerents, assumed, from the very beginning of the Revolution, the right of searching neutral vessels for Turkish property, but I am not aware that the blockade of the Turkish coast was formally proclaimed till March 13th, 1822. Above two-thirds of the trade of the Levant is carried on under the English and Austrian flags; so that the effects of the proclamation were most immediately and most sensibly felt by Austria and England. In the mean time, the Greek cruisers continued to act upon their orders, with an activity which was of course strengthened by the prospect of sharing the condemned property. Vessels of all nations attempting to enter a blockaded port, were seized without distinction, and carried off among the rocks of the Archipelago; there some were detained, to the great prejudice of their cargoes or speculations; others were condemned by the Admiralty or Government; and others, I fear I must add, were plundered by their captors without any order or authority whatever *. What conduct,

* In justice to the Greek Government, I must say, that they have shown on every occasion the strongest disposition to prevent or punish piracy, but they have, unfortunately, not always possessed the power to do either.

then, might be fairly adopted by the two great powers who suffered most from this evil, in order to arrest it?

The part of Austria was obvious and consistent. From the first explosion of the Revolution, she had proclaimed her hostility to its principle, and deprecated its success. She had used the little means in her power, at Constantinople and elsewhere, to quench and quell it. She had instructed her *Journal uniformly to exaggerate the hopes of the Turk, and to detail, with scrupulous accuracy, all circumstances of weakness or dissension among the insurgents. Her writings, her actions, her prayers, had the same object invariably and unceasingly. It was, therefore, natural, that Austria should show very little respect to a blockade, proclaimed by a Government whose existence she did not recognise, and whose principles she execrated, and enforced by a people whom she would willingly exclude for ever from the list of nations; and thus we observe her naval officers acting occasionally with considerable violence, and always in

* After all, the Austrian Observer is the only newspaper in Europe which has given the facts and details of the Revolution with any tolerable degree of accuracy. The only error it has continually committed, has been to estimate too highly the force and preparations of Turkey. In this respect, the Editor has ever allowed himself to be misled by his hopes.

a spirit of marked hostility towards the insurgents *.

* Upon one occasion, in the autumn of 1823, an Austrian ship of war took a small Psarian privateer, carried her into Smyrna, and delivered her crew, consisting of twenty-one persons, into the hands of the Turkish Governor. They were immediately sent off to Constantinople for trial, and were already crossing the sea of Marmora, and had arrived almost under the cannon of the Seraglio. A few minutes more would have decided their fate. At this critical instant, some of them contrived to break the cords by which they were bound; they rose upon the guard, overpowered, and put them all to death. Having thus obtained possession of the boat, they proceeded boldly towards the Dardanelles, the only outlet which could conduct them to their country. For two days, they are believed to have been detained by contrary winds among the islands of the Marmora, in the heart of the Turkish empire. At last, they were enabled to advance, and they entered the straits, every where lined by the batteries of the enemy. To the various interrogations made to them during this passage, they replied, that they were charged with despatches from the Sultan to the Capudan Pasha, and were forbidden to stop on any account. Some shot were fired at them, but happily with no effect, and they escaped from this peril. Scarcely, however, had they cleared the straits, before they were hailed by a Turkish frigate, which approached them rapidly; but even in this danger they were not resourceless. They directed their course towards the Turkish port of Tenedos, and approached extremely near to the batteries. This manœuvre deceived both parties: the frigate ceased to pursue, and the batteries did not fire upon them; and, after again extricating themselves from the very grasp of the enemy, they were at last picked up by a Spezziote cruiser. This anecdote, which I know to be authentic, presents an instance of that singular mixture of *address* with audacity, which is so strongly characteristic of Greeks.

Very different was the situation of England, and far more difficult the regulation of her conduct. The difficulty was chiefly occasioned by the Ionian declaration of neutrality. To acknowledge the blockade of the one party, and to violate that of the other, was not neutrality. To interdict all communication with the blockaded Greek, and to guarantee the safety of supplies embarked by British merchants for the starving Mussulman, was not neutrality. On the other hand, publicly to recognise any act of the Greek Government, was, in some measure, to recognise the Government whence that act emanated,—a Government, so discordant, so imbecile, so impotent to enforce the execution of its orders, that the most eager Philhellene would scarcely venture to recommend its *immediate* acknowledgment.

Under these delicate circumstances, the officers commanding the British squadron appear to have been left, without any definite instructions, to be guided by the particular nature of each case, and to act on their own discretion. Such power was very safely confided to the judgment and justice of Captain Hamilton. Vigilant in the detection, and severe in the punishment, of piracy, he was successful alike in protecting the lawful commerce of our merchants, and in acquiring the love and admiration of the nation against whose invasions he protected it.

A proof (for assertions are little) that the Greek blockade was, *in fact*, from its very commencement, respected by the English, is furnished by various complaining letters, addressed, during the summer of 1822, by Yussuf Pasha to the Ionian Government. In a despatch of June 10, he mentions, that "ten vessels of the rebels are come to anchor at Misolonghi, following the audacity, barbarity, and insolence, which is natural to them, and which has given them the imagination of becoming independent, and forming a nation,—that they have declared to the Ionian Government the blockade of these coasts, and have taken certain Austrian and English vessels, which were transporting provisions thither. But Austria, not recognising such blockade, as it is the work of individuals, who, so far from being independent, are rebels and pirates, sent an armed force, (which is still in these waters,) and retook the captured vessels, which were conducted hither, where they are selling their provisions; besides which, she punished the rebels, and prevented them from again molesting the Austrian flag.

"But, as the English (he proceeds to say) have not acted in the same manner, he begs permission to demand, whether the Greek blockade is or is not acknowledged by the British Government?"

A letter, similar in tenour, was addressed early in the following winter, to Sir T. Maitland, by

the three Pashas assembled before Misolonghi. The activity of the Greek cruisers had intercepted the supplies of provisions which the Turkish army had been in the habit of receiving from the islands in Ionian boats. Sir T. Maitland invariably treated such applications with dignified contempt.

In this undecided state the question appears to have rested till the December of 1822; at which period, the British and Austrian officers on the Levant station came to an understanding on the subject of the blockade, under the direction of Sir Graham Moore; the result of this was an address to their respective merchants, in which they promised their endeavours to recover any capture, but, at the same time, strongly recommended them to discontinue their trade with blockaded ports. It would appear, by the style of this address, that these officers would not have felt justified in having recourse to actual force, for the purpose of recovering vessels taken in the act of violating the blockade. Thus the matter remained till the summer following, when the Greek blockade was understood to have been formally recognised by the British Government.

Respecting the speculations of various European merchants, whose vessels have been occasionally employed in introducing supplies into blockaded Turkish fortresses, much, perhaps too much, has

been already written. The language of abuse has been exhausted upon their conduct; for there is no method by which a momentary popularity is obtained so easily as by the censure of an unpopular act. Thus much, however, should be recollected in their defence: That their communication with the ports in question was nothing more than a continuation of a friendly intercourse, which had long existed, and had long been profitable to them; and that it was kept up in violation of no order of the *British Government, and at considerable risk of capture; and as to the †*national* distinctions of the belligerents, and the respect due to "the descendants of Themistocles," I might add, with truth, that those whose commercial transactions have made them familiar with the character of both parties, continue their intercourse much more willingly with the descendants of Osman.

As to the impropriety of permitting Consuls and other officers established in the country for the protection of commerce, to engage themselves

* Since the formal acknowledgment of the Greek blockade, I have heard of no authenticated instance of its violation by a British subject.

† When we consider the present as a *religious* war, we must assent to all that can be said in condemnation of Christians, whom any hope of temporal advantage could seduce into amity with the Infidel.

in commercial speculations, there can exist no difference of opinion. Indeed it is greatly to be desired, that the system established by the Levant Company should be entirely altered, and that the nomination and direction of the Consuls should be transferred to Government. We should not, however, too hastily censure any individual for having taken fair advantage of a privilege confessedly allowed him; nor should we make the faults of the system a matter of reproach to those who have endeavoured to profit by them.

At any rate it is right to mention, that the Consul-general, Mr. Cartwright, is not a merchant. It is quite necessary, that he, at least, should be notoriously excepted from every calumny. Better acquainted with Greece and Greeks than perhaps any European existing, he is a sincere friend both to the country and the cause, and is no less qualified for his high situation by talents and knowledge, than by strict and inviolable integrity.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

RUSSIAN RIGHT OF PROTECTION, &c.

By the Treaty of Kainardgi, the Porte engages, *generally*, to protect the Christian Religion and its churches; and, *particularly*,

I. "For the Isles of the Archipelago, restored to the Porte by the Treaty of 1774:

1st. "The Sublime Porte promises to observe strictly, with regard to the inhabitants of those Isles, the conditions stipulated in the first Article concerning the general amnesty, and eternal oblivion of all crimes committed, or suspected, in prejudice of the interests of the Porte.

2d. "*The Christian Religion shall not be exposed to the slightest oppression any more than the churches,—and no obstacles shall be opposed to their construction or repair; and those who serve them shall not be oppressed or outraged.*"

There are two other clauses, which relate only to circumstances of the moment,—as that the Porte shall demand of them no arrears of taxes, remit their taxes

for the two following years, and allow freedom of emigration for one year after the date of the Treaty.

It appears, then, that with respect to the affairs *of Greece*, Russia has no right whatsoever of interference, except in the case that the Porte should persecute the Greeks *as Christians*, and overthrow their churches, and insult the ministers of their religion, *as such*. The Turkish Government is not ignorant of this; and therefore, when Baron Strogonoff remonstrated against the execution of the Patriarch, it was contented to reply, "that no insult was thereby intended to the Christian Religion." Nor was this the only point of dispute between the Porte and the Baron, in which strict justice was on the side of the former.

The Patriarch was executed, not as head of the Christian Religion in Turkey, not as representative of the Greek Clergy, but as a person engaged in treasonable correspondence and plotting against the Government; not, in short, as a Patriarch, but as a traitor. It was an act, it is true, of unexampled ferocity, and Baron Strogonoff had a perfect right to express that abhorrence of it which he felt in common with every Christian; but this was all; he could make no just claim of reparation. The Turks had punished, after their own fashion, an offending subject; and I imagine that even the Russian Cabinet will not interpret the above article to be a general guarantee of impunity to the Greek Clergy,—or even to mean that every suspected Papas is to be tried by the Russian Ambassador!

Still less can they derive from it any right of interference in the *political* affairs of Greece. If an army of Janissaries had been launched from Constantinople into the Archipelago, to burn the churches and hang the priests, without pretext or provocation, then, indeed, might the Cossacks have been let loose with every justice into the heart of Asia. But the present case is quite the reverse of that; the Greeks were the aggressors; the Greeks (may I so express myself) were the persecutors; mosques and tekays were violated and destroyed before any church or convent had been entered by the Infidel. The Turks were assaulted at Patras, and massacred at Galacz, some weeks *before* the execution of the Patriarch. I am at a loss, then, to comprehend how the Cabinet of Russia can consider the insurgents as subjected to *religious persecution;* or if this be not intended, I am curious to learn what other title of interference can possibly be extorted from the very plain words which I have quoted.

But common sense is proof against all the sophisms of diplomacy; the fact is too obvious for misinterpretation; the ministers of Europe will not be misled by pretensions which cannot impose on any Reis Effendi. The Emperor Alexander has no more *right* to interpose in the present affairs of Greece than the Grand Duke of Baden.

The right by which the allied powers would disarm the combatants who are bleeding to death before them, is founded not on stipulation or convention, but

it is not less imperative, nor less sacred; they derive it solely from humanity; from the law which makes the passive spectator a partner in the murder,—which justifies the use of force, for the prevention of crime and wretchedness. A right established on such a basis, we will not yet acknowledge to be exclusively *Russian*.

II. For Walachia and Moldavia:

The same Treaty (Art. xvi.), after securing an amnesty for the inhabitants, proceeds to stipulate, "That the Porte shall not in any manner impede the free exercise of the Christian Religion, nor oppose any obstacle to the construction of new churches, or the repair of old ones.

"That it shall restore certain possessions to convents and individuals from whom they have been unjustly seized.

"That it shall have for the Clergy the peculiar esteem which their profession demands."

After consenting to some temporary stipulations respecting taxes and emigration, similar to those agreed upon respecting the Islands,

"The Porte promises to conduct itself with all humanity and generosity in the taxes which it shall levy on the inhabitants in money, and to receive them by means of deputies, who shall be sent every two years; at the term of the payment of these taxes, neither Pasha nor Governor, nor any officer of whatsoever description, shall levy them, or exact other

payments, or impositions, under any pretext or denomination.

" The Porte permits the princes of these States to retain each of them a Chargé d'Affaires at the seat of Government, who shall be Christians of the Greek Communion, who shall be treated with kindness by the Porte, and, notwithstanding their little importance, considered as persons enjoying *du droit des gens, c'est a dire à l'abri de toute violence.*

" The Porte also consents that, according as the circumstances of these two principalities shall require it, the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia, resident at Constantinople, may speak in their favour, and promises to listen to them with the attention due to friendly and respected powers."

These stipulations have been confirmed by four imperial Firmans, issued respectively in the years 1775, 1783, 1792, and Sept. 24th, 1802. The last of these contains some additional dispositions, relative to the fixation of taxes, to the nomination of officers, the organization of troops destined for the protection of the country, *&c. &c.*

From the consideration of these stipulations we perceive that, with regard to the affairs of Moldavia and Walachia, Russia possesses a right of interference as extensive and as firmly established, as that with respect to Greece is narrow and unsubstantial.

III. As to Servia:

The eighth Article of the Treaty of Bucharest (in

1813) exacts the destruction of the fortresses built in that country by the Turks during the war, but allows them to retain garrisons in those formerly existing there. The Porte then proceeds, "in its mercy, to grant the Servians the same privileges which are enjoyed by its subjects in the Islands of the Archipelago; and gives a great proof of its magnanimity in abandoning to them the administration of their internal affairs, in imposing light contributions, in collecting them * directly, and in entering, *in concert with the Servian nation*, into dispositions necessary for that purpose."

This degree of civil liberty contents the Servians tolerably well; but let mediators beware how they attempt to impose it upon Greeks. The Greek nation can henceforward *do nothing in concert with Turks.* In any convention by which it may be thought right to compose the convulsions of the East, every article, every detail, must be specified and defined; and the powers who shall establish tranquillity must solemnly oblige themselves to maintain it. Otherwise, the Treaty will be violated by both parties in less than a month from its conclusion.

It may here be not improper to say a few words on the Russian project for the pacification of Greece, which was published in the French papers in May last. According to this plan, Greece was to undergo a quadruple division. Eastern, Western Greece, and

* i. e., By not farming them, according to the custom of the Turkish Government.

the Morea with Crete, were to be erected into three principalities, and the islands to be subjected to a municipal form of government. These four districts were to pay tribute to the Turks, according to their extent and wealth. The Hospodars or Princes were to be named by the Turkish Government. The Turks were to keep garrisons in some of the fortresses, with a district, beyond which they should not proceed.

Are we to consider this project as intended to serve the interests of Russia, or the interests of Greece? If the former, it merits our admiration; at once profound and ingenious, it contains nothing which does not further its purpose. If the latter, it contains in almost every paragraph a glaring absurdity.

First, to subdivide into petty principalities a country of small extent and population, whose only hope of increase is derived from its hope of union under one liberal Government—a country which to be great must be commercial, and to be commercial must be independent—is to crush in an instant every promise of a flourishing future, and to shut up every prospect of national or political improvement. On the other hand, such a subdivision would be infinitely to the interest of Russia, because the very weakness and helplessness of dismembered Greece would oblige her once more to look out for a foreign protector, and place her entirely at his mercy.

Secondly, the political hopes of Greece being thus destroyed, let us examine what consolation is to be

offered to her in her internal administration. She is to be subjected to a tribute, and *to the Government of Hospodars nominated by the Porte.* Can a minister of Russia profess to be ignorant, that the *people* of Moldavia and Walachia are devoted, by the rule of Hospodars so nominated, to oppression and degradation, ten times more keen and gnawing than any *immediate* subjects of the Porte? or, does Russia hate a Greek so deeply, as to wish him reduced to the same level of mental and moral turpitude, which so admirably qualifies the Walachian for slavery? The streets of Napoli and Tripolizza would become like those of Tergowitz and Yassi, and Athens would rival Bucharest in vulgar and profligate depravity. In the mean time, Russia would secure to herself a right of interference with the Porte in the affairs of Greece, and watch the favourable moment to exercise or exceed it.

But, thirdly, the greatest absurdity contained in "the Project," considered as Phil-hellenic, is the occupation of the fortresses of Greece by Turkish soldiers. The Greeks of Napoli, for instance, "will enjoy liberty, and have a perfect freedom of trade," (I quote the Project,) under the guns of the Turkish garrison of the Palamedes! The same liberty is to be enjoyed, no doubt, with the same security, at Athens, at Patras, at Tripolizza! In short, the Turks are again to become the military, and the Greeks the civil, part of the population! No one at all instructed as to

the state of public feeling in Greece,—no one who knew the intensity of hatred subsisting between the combatants, could have seriously proposed a scheme of again subjecting to Turkish garrisons, an armed nation which for three years had rioted in independence. To disarm the Hellenic population would demand more force than is possessed by Turkey,—to send Turkish soldiers into the country, under whatever stipulation or guarantee, would be to send them to massacre.

Again, the advantage which Russia would derive from such an arrangement is rather too obvious. Eternal dissensions between the people ruling and the people ruled would lead to eternal violations of the Convention guaranteed by the mediating powers, and Russia, as the most active and prominent mediatrix, would be furnished with perpetual excuses for interference.

Thus then, Greece would be reduced to a condition even worse than that from which she has so honourably emerged; Russia would obtain the same influence over Greece, which she exercises in Moldavia and Walachia; and Europe, by consenting to an arrangement which would multiply the sources of difference between Russia and the Porte, would accelerate a rupture between those two powers.

II.

An Account of the death of Ali Pasha of Yannina, from the official communication verbally made by his Excellency the Reis Effendi to the first Interpreter of the Britannic Embassy for the information of His Excellency Lord Strangford.

"*Constantinople, the 24th of February*, 1822.

"It is known, that Ali Pasha, concealed in his intrenchments, had retired with about fifty men, who had remained faithful, into a part of the citadel of Yannina. The place which he had chosen for a last retreat, was a building, divided into three stories. The highest story was inhabited by the Pasha and his suite, the treasures were enclosed in the middle, and the lower story contained a great quantity of gunpowder.

"Hourshid Pasha, informed of this arrangement, sent his Silikdar to Ali, to propose to him to surrender at discretion, to restore the part of the citadel which he possessed, and to consign his treasures to that officer; for such appeared, in the extremity to which he was reduced, to be the only rational determination which remained for him to adopt. He added, that he knew a report had been spread that Ali had resolved, in case he should be thrown into despair, to set fire to the powder, and to blow up himself with his treasures, and all those who surrounded him; but that this threat did not frighten him, and that if Ali

did not decide immediately, he would come himself and apply the torch.

" Ali Pasha replied to the Silikdar, that he was well assured that in his situation there was no other choice, and that he was determined to surrender as soon as he should be assured of his life.

" The Silikdar undertook to carry his answer to his master, and returned soon afterwards to inform him, in the name of Hourshid Pasha, that the fulfilment of this request depended exclusively on the Sultan, that the Pasha would willingly give him his good offices with his Highness, but that he could not do it with any hope of success unless Ali should previously deliver up all he possessed; that he proposed to him consequently to effect the surrender of the fort, of the treasures, of the stores, *&c. &c.*, and to retire and await the arrival of the resolution of the Sultan in a small island on the lake near the citadel.

" Ali Pasha asked time at first to reflect on the decision which he should make; at last, after several conversations with the Silikdar, he consented to leave the citadel, and he retired into the island with all his little troop, with the exception of one of his trusty friends, with whom he agreed on a signal which would instruct him whether he was to set fire to the powder, or give up all that was intrusted to his care to the officers of Hourshid Pasha.

" The Silikdar received Ali Pasha in the island at the head of an equal number of men with that which

accompanied the Visir; they paid him all the honour due to his rank, and, after having been treated for several days by Hourshid Pasha with the greatest respect, Ali had confidence enough to order the surrender of all that he had left in the citadel. They immediately made haste to transport the powder into a place of safety.

" Directly afterwards Ali Pasha requested that one of his officers who commanded a small party of a hundred men in the environs of Yannina, might be permitted to rejoin him in the island. Hourshid Pasha consented to this, but sent at the same time a detachment, composed of an equal number of men, to keep Ali's troops in awe.

" Different Pashas of inferior rank had been several times to visit Ali. On the 13th day of the Moon Djemaziul Awwel, (the 5th of February,) Mohammed Pasha, Governor of the Morea, offered to procure for Ali every possible comfort, naming particularly provisions. Ali replied to this offer, that he desired nothing more than a supply of meat; he added, however, that he had still another wish, though his unwillingness to offend the scruples of religion forbade him to give utterance to it. Being pressed to name it, he owned that it was wine which he wished for, and Mahommed Pasha promised that he should receive it. The conversation continued for some time in the most friendly manner, till, at last, Mohammed Pasha rose to take leave. Being of the same rank, they rose at the same moment from the sopha, according

to the usual ceremony, and before leaving the room, Mohammed Pasha bowed profoundly. Ali returned the compliment, but at the instant of his inclination, Mohammed executed the will of his Sovereign, and put him to death by plunging a poniard into his left breast.

"He immediately quitted the apartment, and announced that Ali had ceased to exist.

"Some men of Mohammed's suite then entered and divided the head from the body. The former having been shown to the Sultan's troops as to those who had embraced the rebel's part, a strife followed in which several men were killed. But the minds of the people were soon calmed, and all discord was appeased by shouts of 'Long live Sultan Mahmoud and his Visir Hourshid Pasha.'"

III.

CONVENTION OF ATHENS.

Συνθήκαις,

Τὰς ὁποίας ἔκαμαν οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι Επίτροποι τῆς ὑπερτάτης διοικήσεως, οἱ, τε Ἔφοροι τῶν Αθηνῶν καὶ Καπιτάνοι με τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει πολιορκουμένους Τούρκους, ὅτε καταπολεμηθέντες οὗτοι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀνάγκην ἐλθόντες, επρεσβεύσαντο περὶ συνθηκῶν.

Κεφ. Α'. Οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ παραδώσωσιν τὰ ὅπλα των, καὶ τὴν Ακρόπολιν μὲ ὅλα τα ἐν ταυτῃ εὑρισκόμενα ἄνευ τινὸς δόλου.

Β'. Οἱ Ἕλληνες νὰ φυλάξωσιν μὲ ὅλην τὴν δυνατὴν ἐπιμέλησίν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν Τούρκων.

Γ'. Πᾶσα φαμελλία Τουρκικὴ νὰ λάβῃ ἕνα φόρτωμα ἀπὸ τὰ ροῦχα των ἐννοῶντας ροῦχα τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τῆς ἀλλαξίας· δύω τεγγαρέδας μὲ τὰ σκεπάσματά των, δύω σαχάνια μὲ τὰ σκεπάσματά των.

Δ. Ἀπὸ ἀσημειὸ, μαλαγματικὸ, μαργαριτὰς, συμπεριλαμβάνωντας καὶ τὰ μετρητὰ, καὶ κάθε τζοβαερικὸ, ὁποῦ ἦτον ἐξαρχῆς κτῆμα ἐδικόντων τῶν Τούρκων, εκτος δηλαδὴ τῶν ὅσων ἐλαφυραγώγησαν ἀπὸ Χριστιανοὺς, νὰ λάβουν τὸ ἥμισυ.

Ε'. Ὅσοι τῶν Τούρκων θελήσουν αὐτοπροαιρέτοι νὰ μένουν εἰς τὰς Αθήνας, νὰ τοὺς συγχωρηθῇ ἐλευθέρα ἡ κατοικία· ὅσοι δὲ θελήσωσι νὰ ἀπέλθωσι εἰς Ἀσίαν, νὰ τοὺς ἐμβαρκαρίζῃ ἡ Διοίκησις εἰς Εὐρωπαικὰ καράβια, ὁποίας δίποτε σημειὰς τύχοι, διδουσα εἰς ὅλην φαμελλίαν τὸ ἀρκετὸν διὰ τὸ ταξίδι της ψωμὶ καὶ τυρί, πληρώνουσα καὶ τὸ ναῦλο των.

Ταῦτα ἐσυμφωνηθήσαν μεταξὺ τῶν δύω μέρων ἀμεταβλήτως καὶ ἀπαραβάτως· ἐδόθη τὸ παρὸν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν Τούρκων ἐσφραγισμένο τῇ σφραγίδι τῆς κοινότητος, καὶ ὑπογεγραμμένο παρὰ τοὺς κάτωθεν.

Ἐν Αθήναις τὴ η Ιουλίου, 1822.

IV.

FUNERAL ORATION

ON

LORD NOEL BYRON,

Extemporized and delivered by M. Spyridion Trikoupes.

[Composed, as the Greek Publisher declares, in the space of three or four hours.]

"How unexpected this occurrence! how lamentable this misfortune! 'Tis but lately that the suffering people of Greece, all joy and exultation, received into its bosom this distinguished man, and to-day, all affliction and dejection, we moisten his death-bed with bitterest tears, and express a grief which is beyond the power of consolation. It was Easter Sunday, but the delightful salutation, 'Christ is risen from the dead,' had no favour on the lips of the Christian Greek, and each one meeting his companion, before he offered the usual good wishes, inquired after the health of Lord Byron. Thousands of persons, collected to exchange the divine kiss of love in the broad plain without the wall of our city, appeared as if collected for no other purpose than to offer their prayers to the Liberator of the Universe, for the health of our fellow-labourer in the liberation of our country.

And how was it possible that every heart should not be afflicted? that every lip should not be imbittered? Was this part of Greece ever in greater dis-

tress and necessity than at the moment when the much-lamented Lord Byron passed over to Misolonghi at the very risk of his life? And during the period of his residence among us, has not his wealth-affording hand ever relieved our most pressing exigences? How many other benefits, still greater than these, did we not expect from the virtues of this same man? And to-day, alas! to-day, the fatal tomb absorbs him, and with him our hopes!

"But might he not have remained at ease beyond the boundaries of Greece, and, in enjoyment of the repose and luxuries of Europe, have succoured us only by the munificence of his heart? This had sufficed for us, since the approved wisdom and profound experience of the President of the Senate, our Governor, would have provided, even with such means, for the safety of the province; but if this sufficed for us, it sufficed not, far from it, for him! Formed by nature every where to protect the rights of man, when he beheld them trodden down,—born in a free and all-enlightened country,—nourished from a child in the study of the writings of our immortal ancestors, which teach all who read them what *man* is, nor this only, but also what he ought to be, and what he can be,—he saw the vilified and chain-bound man of Greece struggling to burst his chains, and from the fragments of his fetters to forge mortal weapons, that he might recover by violence what violence had torn from him. He saw,—he quitted all the spiritual and sensual enjoyments of Europe, and came to suffer and endure with us; aiding us not only, with his wealth,

which he grudged and regretted not,—not only with his wisdom, of which he gave us so many preserving proofs,—but with his sword, sharpened against tyranny and barbarity. He came, in one word, (as we learn from those who were familiar with him) with the determination *to die in Greece for Greece.* How, then, should we not all be heart-broken for the loss of such a man? How should we not deplore his fate as the common suffering of the whole Hellenic people?

" Thus far, my brethren, you have seen the liberal, the wealthy, the intrepid man, the true Phil-hellene,—you have seen, too, your benefactor; this suffices, surely, to move us to tears. But more, far more, is due to his character and to the greatness of his glorious undertaking. He, whose death we are lamenting inconsolably, was a man who (in some measure) gave his name to our age. The extensiveness of his genius and the sublimity of his imagination, allowed him not to follow the bright but obvious footsteps of the literary glory of the ancients; he traced out a new path, —a path from which servile prejudice has endeavoured, and is still endeavouring, to exclude the literary genius of Europe. But as long as his writings shall endure, (and they will be coeval with the world) this path will ever remain open, since, equally with the other, it is the path of true glory. Thus much have I been compelled to say to you, by the profound veneration and the strong enthusiasm which the perusal of his works has ever inspired into my heart, and which I feel at this moment more violently than at any other. The whole of enlightened Europe has

praised, and still praises, the 'Poet of our age,' and all ages will continue to eulogize him, because he was born for the whole of Europe, and for every age.

* * * * *

"Born in the splendid metropolis of London, noble both on his father's and his mother's side, what delight was experienced by his Phil-hellenic heart, when our poor city, in proof of affection, enrolled him among its citizens! In the very agony of death, even at the instant when eternity first presents itself to man, hovering on the boundaries of mortal and immortal life,—at that instant when the whole visible world appears like a spot, in comparison with the splendid creations of Divine Omnipotence,—in that fearful hour, the glorious deceased, disregarding the whole universe, had no words on his lips except the names *of his only and dearly beloved daughter and—of Greece!* These two names were too deeply imprinted in his affections to be erased even in the instant of death.—'*My daughter!*' he said, '*Greece!*' he said, and his voice failed!! Is there a heart in Greece which must not ever be melted by this recollection?

"Acceptable in death, my beloved Hellenes, truly acceptable to his shade, are our tears, because they are the tears of the heirs of his love. But far more acceptable will be our exertions for our country; these, though far removed from us, he will observe from the height of the Heavens which have been opened to him by his virtue. This is the only proof of affection which he demands for his beneficence, the only return which he claims for his love. * * *

When your power, my beloved Hellenes, shall have succeeded to crush the hands which have enchained us,—the hands which seized our brothers, our children, and our property,—then will his shade rejoice, then will his ashes exult. Yes, in that happy hour of the successful conclusion of your struggles, the priest shall stretch out his holy and emancipated hand, and shall praise and consecrate this glorious tomb; the young soldier, girded with a sword steeped in the blood of tyrants, shall adorn it with laurels; the politician with encomiums; and the poet, bending over the harmonious tomb-stone, will become more poetical;—then too shall the flower-adorned virgins of Greece, whose magic beauty our fellow-citizen Byron celebrated in many of his poems,—then shall our beautiful children, no longer dreading pollution from the ravishing hand of our tyrants,—form the dance around his tomb, celebrating in their song the beauties of their country which have been celebrated so gracefully and so truly by the 'poet of our age.'

"But, what painful reflection now occurs to me! my imagination has misled me! I thought I beheld what my heart desired! I fancied benedictions, laurel crowns, songs, dances, around the tomb of the benefactor of Greece,—but this tomb will not contain his honoured remains! His body rests only a few days longer on the face of our land, his adopted country; it is not granted to her arms; it is transferred to the land which he honoured by his birth.

"Thy arms, much-beloved daughter of Byron, thine own arms shall receive him, thine own tears

shall console the tomb which contains his ashes; and the tears of the orphaned Hellenes will be poured over the receptacle of the fragments which have been left them, and over the whole extent of Greece,—for the whole extent of Greece is his sepulchre. As in the last moment of life, he had You and Greece in his heart and on his lips, it was just even after his death that she too should receive a portion of his respected remains. * * * * *. Hellas, all in mourning, all inconsolable, sends out to you his body; she sends it out with all religious, political, and military pomp and honour, and with all the multitude of Misolonghites his fellow-citizens, and of Hellenes his fellow-countrymen. She sends it out to you crowned with her gratitude, warmed with her tears, accompanied by the acceptable prayers and blessings of her archbishop, her bishop, and her whole church. Learn, noble maid, learn that generals carried it on their shoulders, and bore it into the church. Thousands of Hellenic soldiers covered both sides of the road when it passed, and the mouths of those arms which had devoured so many and so many tyrants, were directed to the earth, as if they would wage war against the very earth, which had snatched from them their sincere friend. All this multitude of soldiers at this very instant, with the sword by their side, and the musket on their shoulder, ready to march out against the irreconcileable enemy of Christ and of man, surround his bed of death, and swear upon it never to forget the sacrifices of their father, and never to allow the spot where his relics are placed to be

trampled on by the foot of the barbarian; thousands of Christian mouths are open at this very moment, and the temple of the Most High God of the Christians re-echoes no other sound than hymns—than supplications—that his venerated remains may journey safely to his native land, and that his soul may find rest where the souls of the just repose."

V.

ASSASSINATION OF ISMAEL PASHA.

News from Dongola, December, 1822.

A CHAOUS of the Pasha, who has just arrived from above, gave to Abdin Cashief the following account of the transaction relative to the death of Ismael Pasha. He had been employed by His Excellency's order to collect some horses in the country, and having got together about forty, was on his return with them to the camp at Sennaar. On his approaching the country around Shendi, he was astonished to find the Arabs flying about in various directions, and a confusion among them that indicated some extraordinary event. At last, he was informed by one of the stragglers, that Ismael Pasha was dead, and the country in an uproar. On this, the whole of the Ragaie Arabs with him, excepting one guide, fled and made the best of their way on the hills. The Chaous now took counsel with his guide as to what was best to be done, and the latter advised him to instantly retreat upon Dongola; but being ashamed

to return on mere surmise of danger, he refused his companion's advice, and persuaded him to go on with him to Shendi, himself taking the disguise of an Arab. Arrived in that neighbourhood, they took up their station at one of the wells, which they knew the poor inhabitants were in the custom of frequenting for water. This was on the — of December, but they spent all that evening without seeing a single soul. On the following morning, however, two poor miserable creatures came to the wells, and from them they learned, generally the events that had taken place. It appears that Ismael Pasha had descended from Sennaar, with two small boats, his party not consisting of more than thirty persons,—that he had been received in due form by the Sheik Melek at Nimmer, who had given him his son's house near the river to reside in. His Excellency had scarcely seated himself in divan, when he had demanded from the Melek a contribution of many thousands of dollars and slaves, which he ordered to be ready in three days. The Melek remonstrated on the subject, and declared the impossibility of obeying the order, when Ismael Pasha struck him with his pipe. On which the Melek retired with an assurance that "his affair should be finished before morning." Scarcely had the night, however, set in, when fire was put to the doorah; straw heaped round the house, and the whole party, with Ismael Pasha, were, as they attempted to escape, massacred.

On receiving this intelligence, the Chaous, with his conductors, thought it prudent to retreat to Dongola,

Abdin Cashief, the Governor there, on receiving this intelligence, instantly sent out four Ababdes, mounted on dromedaries, to gain more certain information, doubting and hoping that the Chaous's story might prove untrue; but a few days after he received a courier from * Bey and Jussuff Bey, which, in general language, confirmed the fact. The latter wrote from a station at Berber, and begged him, in urgent terms, if the Delhi horse which he expected had arrived, to put himself at their head, with his household troops, and with all expedition to join them, as "the safety of the remaining part of the Pasha's army depended on receiving instant aid." It appears that Mahor Bey had had a narrow escape in the neighbourhood of Shendi, and had escaped by passing the Astaboras on rafts.

The return of the Ababde messengers brought a too fatal confirmation of the change in affairs, and seems in its detail to be more consonant to the facts. Ismael Pasha, it seems, had come down the rivers from Sennaar, as before stated, in two boats, and, on landing opposite to Shendi, had been received by the two great Meleks. Melek Nimmer and Melek Mesuhul, commanding on the opposite or western branch of the Nile. His Excellency was attended only by his personal suite. The Selicdar of Ibrahim Pasha, with a party of horse, having put out on their way by land, with directions to keep the east side of the river, while another party, about forty in number, had gone down and encamped on the west side. Ismael Pasha had been scarcely seated, when he issued an order to the Melek Nimmer

to bring him fifteen thousand dollars and six thousand slaves in three days. The Melek, with some dignity, said, "It was impossible to execute such an order, it was not a land of slaves, or of wealth; they were poor, but independent." "Do you insult me, slave?" said Ismael Pasha, and struck him across the face with his cane (a small Indian cane which it appears he had lately been in the habit of riding with). The other Melek, more wise, then interposed. "His Excellency's order (he said) should be instantly attended to,—be it on his head:" at the same time, with secret gestures, urging the Melek Nimmer to be silent; "On our heads be it to give your Excellency perfect satisfaction." The Melek then retired. "Are you mad?" said the Melek Nimmer, when they got to their tent, to his companion. "How can we ever execute an order like this? where is the money to come from? where are the slaves? Must we give them our children? must we sell our wives?" "Peace, brother, peace," said his more cunning companion: "see you not our situation? The Pasha has said it, and when have these people receded from their *word*? We are lost, we are as dead men, but it is not necessary that we should die to-day. Pursue your system of opposition, and you will not see another sun; but with mind, in three days much may be done,—nay, in three hours. Our case is desperate, and desperate must be the remedy. If we are to die,—and I see not how we are to be saved,—at least let us have our revenge for past insults, and then leave our death to the chances of war."

This plan was then concerted: as this Melek Nimmer had with him more than men enough for Ismael Pasha's party, it was agreed that the other, to prevent suspicion, should cross to the western side; that he should, as soon as it was dark, attack the party stationed there, and on gaining success, should beat the signal with the tambours. On which, the attack on the western side was made, and immediately after the tambour was sounded. At this moment fire was put to the stacks of doora straw that surrounded the house in which Ismael Pasha slept. The confusion that ensued may be easily imagined; at every turn was an armed man ready for slaughter, and before Ismael Pasha and his suite knew what they were about, they were all cut to pieces and killed. The only persons spared were their Sheygya attendants, and by these faithful fellows, the Ababde were assured, the body of the young prince was on the following day washed, laid out, and buried.

The Melek then sent out in every direction to assemble his friends and tribes, and before the following night, it is said, he was surrounded by ten thousand Taltaleem and other Arabs.

After two days, Mahmoud Effendi, who had been on an expedition in the neighbourhood of Inakin, returned to Shendi. He suspected no danger till he was in the presence of the Melek, when on going to salute him, (they had been on friendly terms before) the Nimmer stopped him and said, "What! knew you not what had happened? we have killed your master, Ismael!" To Mahmoud Effendi this was a thunder-stroke; he

saw his danger, and instantly threw himself at the feet of the Nimmer.

"Melek, I am your slave! my life is in your hands, but spare me; I had no hand in this expedition; I have but done my duty, and obeyed my orders." And so eloquent were his pleadings, that the Melek was moved, and not only spared him, but gave him also a guard to attend him to a place of safety. The Silikdar Bey of Ibrahim Pacha was not so fortunate; he had been attacked in that same morning by a party of Arabs, whom he had beaten back, but supposing these to be in rebellion against the Nimmer, he still, without dread, advanced to Shendi. As he entered the town, Mahmoud Effendi was going out. The latter could only make a signal with his hand, which it appears was not understood. The Silikdar approached the Melek without suspicion, inquiring, after the first salute, what meant the signs of rebellion he had seen. The Nimmer answered at once, "It means destruction to all of you—Ismael Pasha is dead, and you are my prisoner." A great number of the Melek's Arabs then seized the Silikdar, on which one of Ibrahim Pacha's people, Omer Bairakdar, a black, a faithful servant of Mahomed Pacha, drew his pistols and shot two of them dead, but before he could use his sabre, both he and the Silikdar were cut, "as is reported," into a thousand pieces.*

* The above is printed almost literally from the MS. There are some obvious errors in the proper names, but I cannot correct them with certainty.

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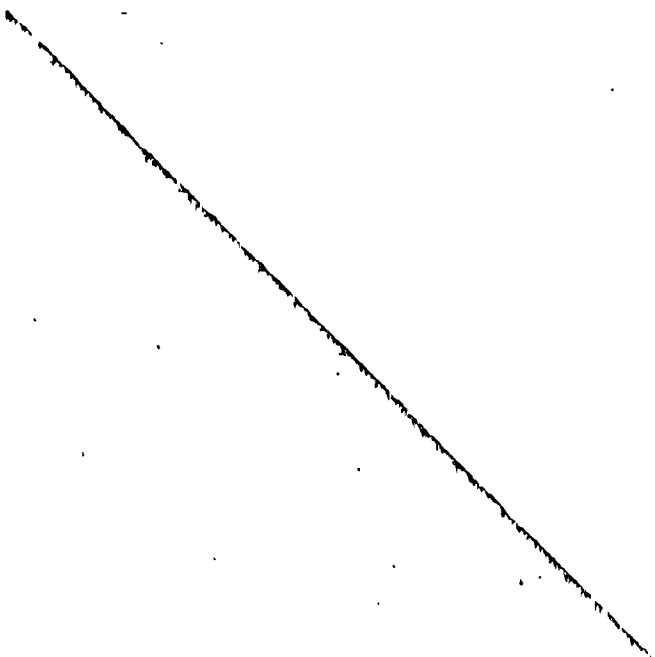

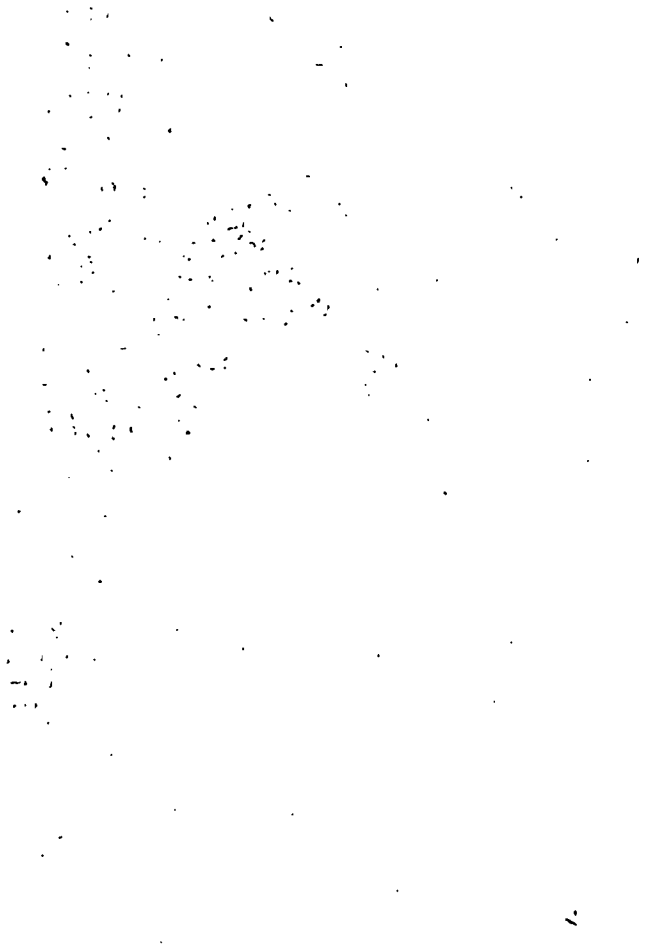

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